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AVSTRALIA

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

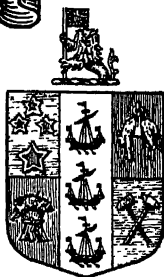
A Survey in 12 Volumes—each self-contained

Edited by

HUGH GUNN

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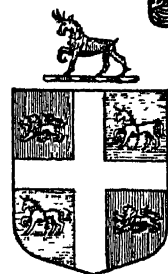
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ONWARD



EX-VNITATE-VIRES



NEWFOUNDLAND

INTRODUCTION TO THE SERIES

A WORD is necessary as to the origin and object of this series. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition (1924), in the early days of its organisation, approached the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Colonial Institute for advice and assistance in connection with the educational aspect of the Exhibition's work. The Editor of this series, who is a member of that Committee, happened during a period of enforced leisure to be spending a good deal of his time at the Institute, chiefly in its delightful Library. On its shelves he found entrancing reminiscences or records of men who went forth from these islands as Pioneers to brave the perils of uncharted seas and the dangers of unknown lands, inspired more by the spirit of adventure inherent in the race than by any calculated design for personal gain or lust for the acquisition of new territories. From these volumes could be traced the beginnings and gradual growth of remote colonies, through the early stages of awakening public interest, followed perchance by apathy or neglect until the advent of some world movement brought them into the fierce light of economic and international importance.

Though there lay upon the shelves an immense mass of valuable literature on almost every phase of Imperial work, it became apparent to the Editor that there was no series of volumes which gave a complete survey of the history, resources, and activities of the Empire looked at as a whole. He felt that there was need for a

series which would provide the ordinary reader with a bird's-eye view, so to speak, of these manifold activities.

The time seemed appropriate for such a survey. The Empire had emerged victorious from the greatest of wars. The Dominions which had contributed so magnificently to the victory had sprung, as it were, at a bound not only into the consciousness and acknowledged status of full and equal nationhood with the Mother Country, but also into definite recognition by Foreign Powers as great and growing World-Forces.

The decision to hold in London an Exhibition in which the vast material resources and industries of the Empire would be brought vividly before the public seemed also to demand that there should be a record and survey of the growth and development of this far-flung congeries of countries and peoples that are called the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Editor accordingly consulted some of his friends, and was fortunate in securing their assistance and advice. The Management of the British Empire Exhibition welcomed the scheme as supplementing from the intellectual side what the Exhibition was doing from the material aspect. He has also been fortunate in obtaining the co-operation, as authors, of distinguished men, many of whom have played a foremost part in the public life or administration of the territories concerned, and all of whom have had wide personal knowledge and experience of the subjects which they treat. The Editor's thanks are especially due to these authors. They have undertaken the work from a sense of duty and from a desire to provide, at an important stage in our history, authoritative information regarding the great heritage that has been bequeathed to us, not only unscathed

but strengthened by the stern struggle through which it has passed.

Each volume is self-contained and deals with a special aspect of the Empire treated as a whole. The volumes are, however, co-ordinated as far as possible, and give, it is hoped, a comprehensive survey of the Empire.

The writers have had complete freedom as regards the statement of their views, and it is to be understood that neither the Editor nor his advisers are responsible for such individual expressions of opinion.

The late Sir George Parkin was deeply interested in the scheme, and, but for his lamented death, would have contributed a volume to the series.

The Editor, in conclusion, desires to express his thanks to Lord Morris, and to Sir Charles Lucas, especially the latter, for the benefit of their advice and ripe experience.

HUGH GUNN,
General Editor.

LONDON, *April*, 1924.

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Late Secretary of the Rhodes Trust, who gave valuable assistance until his death.

I. THE DOMINIONS AND DEPENDENCIES OF THE EMPIRE

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MAKERS OF THE EMPIRE

MAKERS OF THE EMPIRE

Edited and partly written

by

HUGH GUNN

General Editor of the Series



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PREFACE

THE object of this volume is to direct attention more specifically to the enterprise of individual explorers and pioneers and their influence, as distinct from Government policy, on the growth and development of the Empire. It is intended to supplement or enlarge on these aspects of general Imperial history which is so admirably and so succinctly told by Sir Charles Lucas in another volume of this series, *The Story of the Empire*. It is a tale full of romance—of hardy and daring adventurers, most of them not much better nor much worse but certainly not less brave than their rival contemporaries; of liberty-loving and patient pioneers, some moved by personal considerations and others by lofty ideals or spiritual aims; of many who found fame and glory, but of more who left their bones without their names on the shores of lone lands or beneath the swelling waves of the deep. Only the leaders, and not all even of them, can be mentioned by name, but tribute must also be paid to their companions and followers, many of them no less brave and enduring, who made their exploits possible. As homage has been done to the "Unknown Warrior" of the Great War, so should recognition be accorded to the great multitude of unnamed pioneers and settlers whose silent and persevering toils laid the foundations of our remotest colonies.

The original scheme of this volume, like its great theme, has undergone many vicissitudes since its early conception. The editor found that the amount of time and labour necessary to organise and edit the series single-handed, as well as other unexpected circumstances, made it impossible for him to write as much of the volume as he intended. He is conscious, too, that

there is a certain amount of overlapping by different writers, but this has been unavoidable in order to preserve completeness and continuity in the narrative of the aspect under review. He regrets that the exigencies of space have prevented the inclusion of a chapter on the great work of Imperial servants and representatives whose labours and initiative, sometimes unsupported if not actually repudiated, made possible administration in far-off lands by Ministries in England that were too often either vacillating or unsympathetic.

The editor desires to express his indebtedness to the other contributors to this volume. Mr. Evans Lewin and Professor A. Berriedale Keith have each contributed a volume to the series. The former's personal knowledge of Africa lends interest to his chapters, and this is also the case with the section on Australia and New Zealand which is written by Mr. E. R. Garnsey, of the New South Wales Bar. Professor Keith's unrivalled knowledge of constitutional questions renders valuable the chapter in which he draws together the various threads of constitution making in the Empire. Mr. Harold Stannard's studies in Roman history as well as in the post-war settlement of Europe, make interesting his appraisal of our pioneers in the American colonies and in the East. Commander Taprell Dorling, better known under his pen-name of "Taffrail," who was specially detailed by the Admiralty to write the chapter on "Sea Power and Outposts of the Empire" in the volume in this series entitled the *Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire*, is exceptionally qualified, as a distinguished officer of the Royal Navy, to write on the "Sea Venturers" of Britain.

The task of the writers in endeavouring to compress such a vast amount of material into a single volume without making it dull has been by no means easy. It is hoped, however, that the result of their attempt may be of service in showing how individual effort has helped in building up the Empire and that it may

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stimulate interest in the subject, especially among the rising generation on whom its destiny depends.

The editor desires to express his thanks to Mr. W. A. Perrin, O.B.E., Admiralty Librarian, for permission to reproduce from the Admiralty archives two hitherto unpublished maps, one of the British Isles and the other of the World by Baptista Aguese, and to the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute for permission to reproduce old maps of Canada or New France, South Africa, and the World, and also the illustrations of Empire Builders.

His thanks are also due to the staff of the Library of the Royal Colonial Institute for courteous assistance, especially to Mr. John Pike, the Assistant Librarian, and Mr. C. P. Jackson.

HUGH GUNN.

LONDON, *May*, 1924.

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climatic conditions of these islands contributed to the spirit of enterprise and daring of the pioneers who founded these countries overseas? And how far have the peculiar combinations of races hammered out among themselves in the course of centuries the elements of that love of liberty and of representative institutions which have become the distinguishing features of this congeries of nations that is called the British Commonwealth?

The homeland of this group of nations and dependencies which cover about a fourth of the earth's habitable surface, and control a fourth of the world's population, is comparatively insignificant in area and by no means exceptionally populous. While it is only about a thirtieth of the area of Europe—one of the smallest of the continents, it has many remarkable features. It lies to the west of the greatest land mass of the earth—Europe and Asia—from which it is separated by the North Sea with a width averaging about 300 miles. It is separated from Europe at its narrowest point by a channel only 21 miles wide, a sufficient moat to have proved one of its strongest bulwarks and to have given England a distinctive personality among European nations. Though Great Britain and Ireland are the two main islands, it is not generally realised that the British Isles are a remarkable archipelago of over five thousand isles or islets stretching for a distance of nearly 1000 miles from the Shetlands in the north to the Channel and Scilly Isles in the south and south-west. Fewer than two hundred of these are inhabited, and Great Britain itself comes only eighth in point of size among the islands of the world. Most of the smaller islands are on the north and west coasts, where they withstand the wild buffeting of the Atlantic waves, strengthened as these waves are by the impetus gained on the west from two thousand miles of unbroken seas. From the Shetland and Orkney Islands, the old homes and haunts of Vikings and sea-rovers, to the south-west is

an unbroken stretch of ocean for 4000 miles, reaching to the sources of the Gulf Stream, which plays such a beneficent part in the British climate, and to another British archipelago, the Bahamas, with over 3000 islands that sparkle in a sunnier clime.

Not only is Britain composed of many islands, but its coasts are much indented. So much, indeed, is this the case, and so far do the many firths and inlets penetrate the mainland as if the envious, embracing seas strove to cut the land apart, that there is scarce a spot so remote from the sea that a man, swift of foot, could not reach in the span of a summer's day. These wonderful fiords and bays and swift-running sea-streams between the islands have, for many ages, been the pathways and bonds of communication between the various hamlets or scattered isles. The sea, despite its changing moods and wrathful storms, has woven itself with a subtle charm into the life of the inhabitants, and a sea-sense has become part of the blood of these islanders. In fullness of time this sea-sense has made them the greatest mariners of the world.

The climate, too, of these islands has exceptional features: indeed it is unique in regard to the warmth of the winter atmosphere for such a latitude. In January the temperature of the air to the west of and over Britain is 30° higher than the mean temperature of the same latitude for the whole of the Northern Hemisphere. London is 800 miles nearer the North Pole than Chicago or Peking; yet their mean temperature is about the same, though the monthly variations are greater in the latter. This remarkable climatic advantage is due to the so-called Gulf Stream, a body of warm water which runs with more or less of a current from the south-western side of the North Atlantic to the north-eastern parts in which Britain is situated. While the North American side of the Atlantic in the same latitude is frozen in winter, and icebergs are usually met with at sea, no

enlightenment, and their emissaries spread the gospel in various parts of the continent of Europe.

Pope Gregory I., long before he occupied the Papal Chair, became interested in the spread of Christianity in this land from which the Roman Eagle had so lately been withdrawn, and the tale will always be told of how he found some beautiful English children in the Roman slave market, and being informed of their nationality, exclaimed, "Not Angles, but Angels." He accordingly sent a band of missionaries to England under the leadership of Augustine, a wise and learned priest, who was kindly received—in A.D. 597—by Ethelbert of Kent, whose wife was a Christian. This was the beginning of the Christianisation of England, and of the establishment in these islands of churches which, through various vicissitudes of good and bad import, tended to the civilisation of the people, and ultimately, after a thousand years of spiritual and political strife at home, carried the civilising message of the Christian faith into the wildest parts of the Dark Continent and spread it among the hapless slaves of the West Indies and the savage inhabitants of far-off isles in the Pacific.

But now another invader—ruthless and pagan—appeared with his galleys on the coast of England. Norsemen—from Scandinavia and Denmark and the Baltic shores—harried the coasts of Britain and terrorised the Saxons with merciless ferocity as the latter had harried the Celts. For six generations these tribes—the Danes and the Saxons—fought one another, and alternately carried devastation into each other's territory. Eventually these Vikings gained control of the country, and three Danish kings sat on the English throne. Bonds of sympathy were, however, being forged; the Norsemen adopted the Christian religion and the English language, and the usual fusion by intermarriage tended to eliminate ancient feuds.

These natural developments were not long allowed to pursue their course. The Normans under William

the Conqueror landed from France on the south coast of England, and at the Battle of Hastings in 1066 settled the destiny of the country. These Normans were the descendants of Norsemen who harried the west coast of Europe and eventually settled in Brittany. Ferocious in war, they became chivalrous in peace. They embraced the Christian religion, adopted the French tongue, cultivated the arts, and became noted for their learning and refinement.

For a century and a half England was a subject nation under a military despotism. French was the official language, and Normans held all the high offices in civil and military life. Seven kings of England were French, and the Saxon played an inferior rôle under the Norman baron. Ireland was conquered by these warlike knights, and Scotland did them partial homage. The weakness of the seventh French King of England—John—led to the separation of England from France, and once more the healing hand of time, together with mutual interests, brought the conquerors and the conquered into friendly relations.

A new chapter was now opened in our history. The loss of the Norman possession meant the consolidation of England. Conquerors and conquered—confined to the same island—gradually became reconciled, and the innate stability of the older inhabitants asserted itself. Racial strife and bitterness gradually began to disappear, and the united efforts of the two races in securing the Great Charter for their common benefit established a landmark in English history.

It is not proposed to follow in detail the events of the next three centuries—the wars of England with France and Scotland, the continuous strife in Ireland, the internal feuds leading to the gradual growth of constitutional government. The Renaissance and the great era of discovery, culminating in the voyage of Columbus, had their influence on Britain. The reign of Elizabeth is replete with great adventures at home

CHAPTER II

SEA VENTURERS OF BRITAIN

§ I

THE DAWN OF OCEANIC ENTERPRISE

To grasp something of the great opening up of the world by ocean navigation and maritime enterprise generally which took place in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, it is necessary first of all to visualise the earth as it was pictured by the learned men of the period.

In the early days of the fifteenth century, the Mediterranean and the eastern shores of the North Atlantic were well known to European navigators, and were more or less accurately depicted in the maps of the time. But as yet western seafarers had not ventured upon voyages across the broad oceans.

All through the middle ages, however, the imaginations of intelligent Europeans were stirred by glowing accounts of the riches and wonders of the East. Tales of China, or "Cathay," and Japan, "Cipango," had been brought home by the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, who had visited China during the thirteenth century, and for nearly twenty-five years had acted as adviser to the enlightened Mongol Emperor, Kublai Khan. Missions of the Roman Church had even been established in cities in Eastern China, and an overland trade with Europe had been carried on.

Marco Polo's experiences, and those of other travellers, had been spread broadcast through Europe, and lost nothing in the telling. Moreover, the Venetians and Genoese traded with Asiatic merchants,

who brought their silks, jewels, spices, drugs, and perfumes to the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. A proportion of the goods came overland ; but since very early times Arabian merchants had extended their sea commerce and discoveries all over the Indian Ocean and traded with the coast towns and islands of Southern China. The Chinese, too, habitually traded with ports in the Persian Gulf, and it is stated that in A.D. 850 there were sometimes upwards of 400 Chinese junks laden with valuable cargoes of gold, silks, precious stones, musk, porcelain, copper, alum, nutmegs, cloves, and cinnamon, present at a time in these waters.

To discover another route to Cathay and the fragrant East was the ambition of many a restless mind in Europe. The land route, with its complication of transport, presented many difficulties. A new route by sea direct from Europe would be speedier, the line of least resistance, and, what was more important, would permit Europeans to enrich themselves by sharing in a lucrative trade hitherto barred to them.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century there were two main theories concerning the earth as a whole. That promulgated during the first century by Ptolemy of Egypt, imagined Africa as a huge continent stretching eastward across the Indian Ocean until it touched the south-eastern extension of Asia. Asia itself was considered to extend a vast distance to the eastward, and to terminate in impenetrable swamps. America was entirely unthought of and out of the picture, and Aristotle had declared that a voyage across the Atlantic would eventually bring the seaman to Asia. Ptolemy, on the other hand, held that such a voyage was impossible on account of the swamps.

Another theory was that propounded by Pomponius Mela (A.D. 50), who considered that the world consisted of continents surrounded by water, and that Asia

could therefore be reached by a passage round Africa. It was this last theory that found most favour with Western scholars, and was that subscribed to by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460).

This prince, the son of John I. of Portugal, was well known as a soldier, then the most honourable calling for men of exalted birth, and for some time was engaged in the campaigns against the Moors. But it is as a scientific astronomer and geographer rather than as a fighter that his name has passed down to history. He devoted the greater portion of his life to the study of subjects pertaining to navigation, and building an observatory and naval college at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, gathered round him the most scientific men of the age and the most able seamen, and sent the latter forth across the trackless ocean to test the truth of the geographic theories of the day by actual exploration. The results of their labours were recorded in maps, charts, and sailing directions for the benefit of posterity.

In considering sea navigation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we must picture the conditions in which seamen worked and lived. Their vessels were small and slow and ill-found, and, with square sails only, could not beat to windward, but could only sail with the wind on or abaft the beam. Reliable charts were lacking and methods of preserving provisions primitive, and besides the perils of storm and tempest and the terrors of unknown shoals and hidden rocks, navigators had to face the pangs of famine and the ravages of pestilence.

The use of the magnetic compass had already been applied to navigation; but there were no chronometers for the exact measurement of longitude. This could be obtained only by estimating the day's run in miles, and it was the invariable custom of sea captains first to sail to the latitude of the place they wished to reach, and then east or west along the parallel of latitude. The altitude of the sun, and hence the

latitude, could be obtained by means of the rough and ready cross-staff and by the astrolabe, which latter, invented in 1485, was the forerunner of the modern sextant. The latitude thus obtained might be as much as a degree, or 60 miles, in error; though, even so, it was more accurate than the longitude, which was a mere matter of guesswork.

To add to these difficulties there was also the question of obtaining good crews. The conditions of life at sea were appalling, men being vilely fed and herded together like fowls in a coop. Sanitation was practically unknown, and medical supervision non-existent, so that scurvy and other diseases claimed many victims. As often as not, through lack of volunteers, jails had to be emptied of their prisoners to provide the necessary seamen.

With such unpromising material it is not surprising that mutiny was ever in the air and that discipline was of the harshest. Flogging was one of the lightest punishments extant, and cutting off the nose, slitting the ears, and branding were all legal. A man might be fastened to the mast by a dagger through his hand until he freed himself by dragging that member in halves. A sailor insolent to his officer could have his tongue torn out by the roots, while a thief commonly had his right hand severed at the wrist. Keel-hauling was practised, and marooning, whereby a malefactor was landed on an uninhabited shore with a small amount of provisions to die by slow degrees, was not infrequent. For capital offences a culprit could be impaled alive, and so late as 1520 two of Magellan's captains were executed and quartered for mutiny and another was marooned. According to the notions of the time, when the power of life or death was vested in the leader of an expedition, Drake's execution of Thomas Doughty for mutiny in 1578 was no extraordinary incident.

In these circumstances, so difficult to imagine to-day, it is little to be wondered at that seamen

required courage and determination of the highest order in setting forth into the dim uncertainty of the unknown ocean.

In a chapter treating primarily of the work of British navigators, it is unnecessary to deal at length with that fascinating subject, the voyages of the earlier Portuguese and Spanish navigators. Prince Henry's captains soon established Portuguese colonies in the Azores and Madeira, but when it came to pushing down the west coast of Africa past Cape Bojador, their superstitious hearts failed them. There were fierce tides and dangerous reefs, and God, they said, would turn them black if they persisted in passing the dreaded cape! Farther south, moreover, came the torrid zone, where the scientists of the day, or some of them, said that the sun's rays came down in molten fire!

But at length they overcame their fear and passed the cape, finding to their joy that the colour of their complexions remained unchanged, while the sea was just as easy to sail upon as that at home. The land, too, was very rich and pleasant. Year by year they advanced to the southward, forming settlements and opening up a lucrative trade in slaves, gold, ivory, and pepper. At length, in 1486, twenty-six years after Prince Henry's death, Bartholomew Diaz, after many vicissitudes, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached the Great Fish River. Hence, though convinced that the Red Sea was within easy reach, he was forced to return by the discontent of his crews. On the way home the Cape was sighted, and named Cabo Tormantoso, or "Stormy Cape," a name afterwards changed to Cabo del Buono Esperanza, or "Cape of Good Hope," by John II. of Portugal, lest future seamen should be discouraged by Diaz's somewhat inauspicious title.

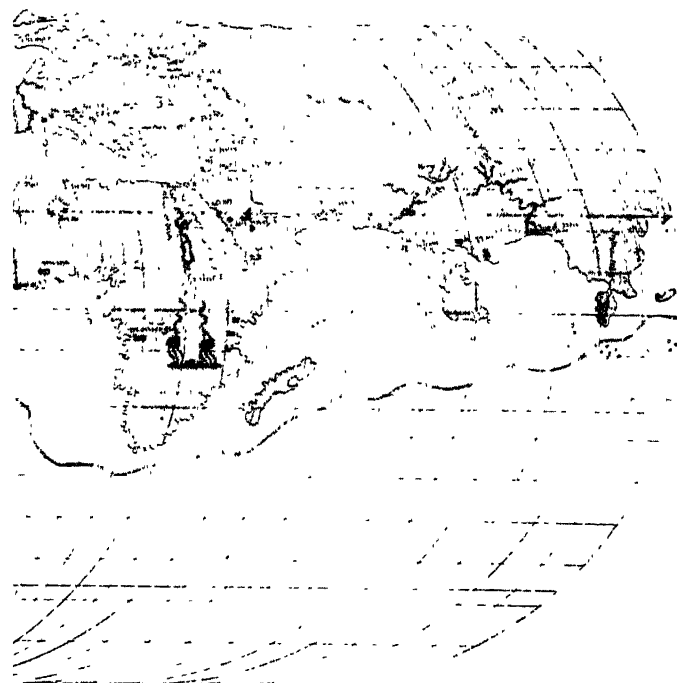
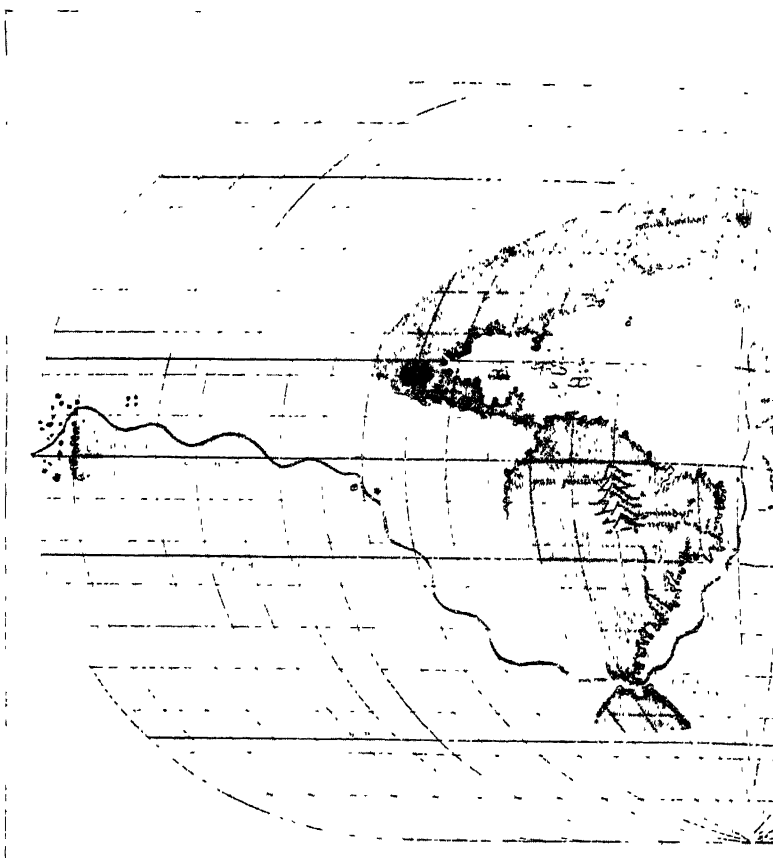
Bartholomew Columbus had been one of Diaz's men. Both he and his brother Christopher realised that one way to India and the east lay in the route

overshadowed at the time by the triumphal return of Vasco da Gama in 1499. Da Gama had sailed from Portugal in 1497 and had rounded the Cape of Good Hope to pass on to Natal, Mozambique, and India, where his caravels were loaded with rich cargoes at trifling cost. The profits of the expedition were calculated at over sixty times the original outlay, and though Columbus might have discovered a fine prospect, it was da Gama who had results to show.

In 1499 a Portuguese fleet on its way to the Indies under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, was carried far to the westward by the equatorial current, and sighted Brazil. A ship was immediately sent home with the news, and in 1501 Americus Vespucius was sent out by the King of Portugal to explore the new territory. He visited Rio Janeiro Bay and the River Plate, and traced out land of continental dimensions south of the Equator in a region in which everybody had hitherto thought there was nothing but the Indian Ocean. It was a fourth continent, which the scholars of the time added to their maps under the name of Amerige or America. Vespucius, after whom it was named, was the first to trace out portions of its long coastline and to describe it in print. Moreover, it was still popularly supposed that the new lands found by Columbus were part of the already known continent of Asia, and had no connection with America.

The first European to set eyes on the great Pacific Ocean was Nunez de Balboa, in 1513, during a land journey from Darien to Peru. The discovery created no small stir in Europe, for it proved beyond a doubt that America did not extend to the East Indies.

An early result of Balboa's discovery was the expedition of Magellan, a Portuguese, who sailed with five ships in 1519 under Spanish auspices. He thought that Cipango lay close behind the barrier continent of America, with Cathay a few days' sail beyond, and coasted down the east coast of South America until he came to the Straits of Magellan.



MAP OF THE WORLD.

Attributed to Baptista Agnese, a well-known cartographer, who was in the possession of the Admiralty, and is now reproduced for the first time by special permission.

This map shows the outward and homeward tracks of Magellan's voyage. Magellan himself was killed in the Philippines in 1521.

The existence of the Antarctic Continent shown to the south was disproved by Drake during his circumnavigation of the world in 1577-80, when he discovered it as its most southerly point. Drake, in his search for a passage to the western seaboard of North America considerably north of the Strait of Magellan.

The first European navigator to reach India was Vasco da Gama in 1498. The strange configuration of the coasts of India, as the knowledge in Europe of the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean about the middle of the sixteenth century, or fifty years after da Gama's voyage.

1536-64. The map, drawn by hand on vellum, is now in the possession of the Admiralty, and is now reproduced for the first time by special permission.

Vittoria, the first ship to circumnavigate the globe, 1519-22.

of the Straits of Magellan was subsequently disproved by Ferdinand Magellan, who terminated Tierra del Fuego to be an island with Cape Horn. He also explored the Pacific into the Atlantic north of America, also explored the Strait of Magellan.

1498. The strange configuration of the coasts of India, as the knowledge in Europe of the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean about the middle of the sixteenth century, or fifty years after da Gama's voyage.

One ship had been wrecked, and Magellan had quelled a mutiny among his captains, two of whom were executed and another marooned. Another vessel deserted in the straits ; but Magellan pushed on with the other three, declaring that even if he thought they would be reduced to eating the leather chafing gear on the yards he would still go on to discover what he had promised to the Emperor.

Threading the tortuous straits, they passed out into the South Pacific Ocean, and sailed on up the west coast of South America before heading westward across the Pacific. Eventually, after nearly perishing for want of food and water and the crews stricken with scurvy, they came to an anchor at the Ladrone Islands—so christened from the thievish disposition of the natives—afterwards known as the Mariana Islands. Sailing thence, they came to the Philippines, where Magellan was killed while trying to convert the natives to Christianity.

After the leader's death, one of the ships was abandoned as unseaworthy ; but the other two passed on to Borneo and the Moluccas. Here another vessel was left behind ; but the last, the *Vittoria*, kept on round the Cape of Good Hope, and finally reached home in 1522, having sailed 14,160 leagues during an absence of fourteen days short of three years. The *Vittoria* was the first ship actually to circumnavigate the globe.

Magellan's expedition is the last of the Spanish and Portuguese voyages that we need mention here. In the short space of thirty years the daring Iberian seamen had achieved much. The fabulous wealth of India and the East was the ultimate goal for which they strove and suffered, and in so doing they ventured farther afield than any one had ever ventured before. They discovered the West Indies and the great continent of America, which lay as a natural barrier across the western route to the Spice Islands. They opened a way into the lonely Pacific round South

America, and carried their lumbering, white-sailed caravels round the stormy Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean, and thence to the land of their desire.

In the first fifty years of the sixteenth century the Spanish and Portuguese extended their discoveries. After Columbus's original expedition, Pope Alexander VI., exercising his claim to dispose of the kingdoms of the earth, allocated to Spain all newly-found lands lying to the west of a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all those to the east of it. This gave to Spain the West Indies, the Spanish Main, most of the eastern coast of South America, and the entire western coast from Cape Horn to California. Portugal, on the other hand, became the virtual mistress of the Eastern Hemisphere, from Cape Bojador round the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea, and thence across the Indian Ocean to Macao.

For the Spaniards, Pinzon found the great rivers leading into the heart of the South American continent ; Cortez conquered Mexico, and Pizarro the Inca Empire of Peru. Florida was conquered, and the Mississippi valley explored. The ports of Santiago de Cuba, Porto Rico, Nombre de Dios, and Cartagena became flourishing trade centres. Every year the mule teams brought their loads of gold and jewels to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and each summer great fleets of treasure-laden galleons and caravels sailed across the Atlantic to replenish the coffers of Spain with the wealth of the New World.

For Portugal, Albuquerque founded a new empire in India, while trading stations were established in the Spice Islands, in China and Japan, and at Pernambuco and Bahia in Brazil.

On the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580, Philip II. of Spain, besides being the ruler of Spain, Naples and Sicily, the Milanese territory of Northern Italy, the province of Franche-Comté, the Netherlands,

and the new American colonies, found himself also the master of Portugal. He thereby added to his empire Brazil, the Azores, the Canary and Cape de Verde Islands, Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, Goa, and other possessions in India, Macao, Malacca, the Philippines, and a vast network of trade organised by the industrious Portuguese in the Far East. No single sovereign had previously ruled over such world-wide dominions.

But the Spaniards were bad colonists. They practised a ruthless severity over conquered peoples instead of benevolent government. Moreover, they regarded gold as wealth in itself rather than as a means of exchange. It was an error which finally brought their splendid empire crashing to ruin. Yielding to the mad desire to grow rich without toil, Spain was eventually to find herself supplanted as a world power by Britain, a country whose seamen and merchants, excluded from the gold-producing regions of the world, were driven instead to oversea trade and colonisation.

Compared with mighty Spain, Britain was one of the minor powers of Europe. Her mariners had long been recognised as expert seamen. She had an important and marketable commodity in her wool; but her trade had mainly been confined to the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. Beyond a vague claim to Newfoundland and Labrador by right of Cabot's discovery in 1497, she had no oversea colonies or interests in America or the East. The great British Empire was still undreamt of.

The foundations of British sea supremacy were laid by Henry VII. and his son, Henry VIII.; but it was during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) that the British really entered upon that wonderful career of nautical enterprise which, by the time of the queen's death, placed their country at the head of the maritime nations. An island race, the tang of the sea was in British nostrils as the salt

was, and is, in British blood. Stirred at the thought of fortunes to be made at the expense of Spain and Portugal, hardy mariners set forth from every port, from many a little fishing village, to reap the golden harvest of the sea.

They were not perfect, for pirates, filibusters, and slave-traders many of them were. Some of the deeds carried out against their hapless enemies in those remote waters "beyond the line" were quite unjustifiable and barbarous. Nevertheless, the names of many of these men have passed down to history as heroes.

Thirty years after the queen's accession Spain was punished by the shattering defeat of the Armada, a triumph which opened the ocean highways to British maritime endeavour, and, by the hardihood of generation after generation of mariners, no less than the bravery of British soldiers and the enterprise of British merchants and colonists, led, in course of time, to the establishment of a British Empire stretching over the entire globe.

Within the limited compass of a few thousand words, it is impossible to give more than the briefest outline of certain of the voyages, discoveries, and exploits of a typical few of the greatest British navigators. The names of some, more famous than others, have passed down to history as national heroes, and the circumstances of their lives and their deeds, commemorated in scores of written volumes, are known to the veriest tyro.

But we are a maritime nation, and every successful navigator had his emulators. Where one man sailed, a hundred were sure to follow, and ever since Elizabethan days, when British ocean enterprise and commerce may be said to have fairly started, hosts of seamen have ventured to the uttermost parts of the earth to return in due season to add their little contribution to our knowledge of the outer world and its resources. But some never returned. They perished

instead—some gloriously fighting for their country's honour, some by shipwreck, others by thirst and famine and pestilence in the sweltering heat of the tropics, or the icy, wind-swept wastes of the Arctic and Antarctic. These men have no monuments to commemorate their deeds—no books wherein their doings are recorded. Their tombstones are the foaming surges of the broad oceans. Sea-birds wheel round their unknown resting-places, and their epitaphs are written across the sky in the trail of smoke from some passing steamer.

Nevertheless, it is to the persistent efforts of these obscure seamen, equally as to the successes of those whose names are bywords in our language, that we are indebted for our present knowledge of the globe, our commercial prosperity, and our greatness as an oceanic Empire.

§ 2

DRAKE'S VOYAGE OF CIRCUMNAVIGATION

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is preserved an oaken chair fashioned from the timbers of a ship. It is one of the few relics that now remains of the famous *Golden Hind* (previously the *Pelican*) in which Francis Drake, one of the most romantic figures in English history and one of the greatest seamen and navigators our country has produced, circumnavigated the world in 1577-80.

On December 13th, 1577, after one abortive start the previous month, a squadron of five vessels sailed out of Plymouth Sound. They were the *Pelican*, of 100 tons, on board of which was Francis Drake, Captain-General of the expedition; the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, Captain John Wynter; the *Marigold*, a barque of 30 tons; the *Swan*, a provision ship of 50 tons; and the *Christopher*, a little pinnace of 15 tons. The last named was commanded by Thomas Moone, who had

been Drake's carpenter in previous expeditions to the Spanish Main.

Francis Drake was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock, in 1542 or 1543, and was thus in his thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year. He had married, in 1569, at St. Budeaux, near Plymouth, Mary Newman, of whom little is known except that she was a native of London. Drake, we are told, was a short, burly man of great strength, with massive limbs and chest. In a miniature painted soon before his departure and still treasured by his descendants, he is shown as a young-looking man of pleasing expression, with brown, wavy hair, slight moustache, gray-blue eyes, and the curiously arched eyebrows so noticeable in all his portraits. The familiar reddish beard shown in all his later representations seems to have been grown during the voyage.

He had been a seaman since boyhood ; but, unlike many of the rough old sailors of his day, came of a good family, had refined and cultivated tastes, and was a competent Spanish linguist. Of masterful temper, intolerant of opposition and impatient of advice, he had the force of character to make himself obeyed, and, fiercely ambitious, was as fearless of responsibility as of an enemy. A hard taskmaster, he was a born leader of men ; but possessed a kindness of disposition which made him loved and respected by his subordinates. He was courteous and generous, even to his enemies, and was never known to take life unnecessarily.

An expert seaman and navigator and an intrepid fighter, he had already established a reputation by his daring forays against the hated Spaniards in the West Indies. From the modern point of view some of his exploits seem little better than piracy, for England and Spain were nominally at peace. But there was no peace beyond the line—the line drawn by the Pope after the discoveries of Columbus—dividing the rich, newly found territories of the world

between Spain and Portugal. There was no international law in the sixteenth century. Means of communication were slow, and in the eyes of Drake and most of his countrymen, his attacks were just and honourable reprisals for the wrongs inflicted by the Spaniards.

In his various expeditions, Drake had captured and looted many vessels, had ravished more than one town, and for a time had paralysed the coasting trade in the Spanish Main, besides diverting the steady flow of precious metals and jewels from Peru to the coffers of Spain. Time and again he had been within an ace of irreparable disaster ; but as often his fertile readiness of resource and seamanship converted almost inevitable disaster into startling success. Essentially a man of action and restless energy, he was a master in the art of surprise. His blows fell like lightning where they were least expected, and Philip of Spain, smarting at the indignity of the buffets and the disorganisation of his trade, complained bitterly of the depredations of this latest reincarnation of the Evil One, and demanded his condign punishment.

The invariable policy of Queen Elizabeth, meanwhile, was to keep the peace. She possibly foresaw a future war with Spain, with which the interests of her country clashed at many points ; but as yet she was unprepared and did not wish to provoke a conflict. But while frowning in public upon her unruly seamen and disclaiming all responsibility for their misdeeds, she was secretly sympathetic to their efforts. Indeed, she even lent her ships and money for filibustering expeditions, and was not averse to sharing in the profits.

After Drake's voyage to the West Indies in 1573, however, during which he sighted the Pacific Ocean from the Isthmus of Darien and vowed that with God's help he would sail upon that sea in an English ship, he came home to find the atmosphere changed. Politicians, fearful lest maritime adventures in Spanish

waters should plunge the country into war, so influenced the queen, that she discountenanced further expeditions. Advisers at court considered rivalry with Spain as madness, and were quite content if England maintained the position of a second-rate power and picked up a precarious subsistence in those parts of the world that were not required by Spain. At one time there was even the possibility of Drake being arrested and punished as a pirate.

The daring seaman was therefore not permitted to put into practice the scheme for which his heart was yearning, and for a time was forced to content himself by assisting the Earl of Essex in trying to subdue a rebellion in Ireland fostered by the Spaniards. In this work he greatly distinguished himself, returning with a glowing letter of recommendation to Walsingham, the Secretary of State, himself a consistent supporter of the war policy.

Again the atmosphere at court had changed. For various reasons, war was being seriously considered, and in January, 1576, came news that an English ship had been seized in a Spanish port and her crew flung into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The queen was furious at this fresh insult, and the country was thoroughly roused, Parliament being summoned to vote the necessary money for hostilities.

War did not come; but the queen, pining for revenge, sent for Drake. His adventures, his daring and resource, were all passports to the royal favour, and with all the attraction she so strongly exercised over the sturdy manhood of her time, she appealed to his chivalry as some distressed damsel to a knight errant. She had been evilly wronged by her cousin, Philip of Spain, and with all the subtle persuasion of her sex claimed Drake's service.

Drake had been present with his uncle, John Hawkins, when their small squadron was treacherously attacked by the Spaniards at San Juan de Ulloa in 1568, and ever since his heart also had been burning

for revenge. Some of the English survivors of that disaster had been tortured and burnt at the stake, and this injury to his friends, coupled with the loss of his own property, fixed in him that indelible hatred which caused him to consider war with Spain as a crusade in defence of truth and humanity, no less a personal than a national duty. It was his ardent desire to penetrate to the South Sea—the Pacific—and as an accompaniment to a mission of revenge, he conceived the exploration of the Pacific coast of America with a view to taking possession of new lands beyond the limits of Spanish occupation. His mind was filled with great schemes for the aggrandisement of his country by oversea colonisation, the spread of the Protestant faith, and the extension of British trade. The actual circumnavigation of the globe may or may not have been in his mind when he set out ; but from the evidence it appears as if it were his original intention to return home by a passage which he imagined to exist round the north of America.

For once his ambitious schemes fitted in with the wayward moods of his sovereign, and with his heart full of hope he set forth at once to make preparations for the voyage. But within two months Elizabeth had again changed her fickle mind, and obstinately convinced herself that Philip meant peace.

How the perverse lady was eventually persuaded it is impossible to say ; but Thomas Doughty, with whom Drake was on terms of great friendship, had become secretary to Sir Christopher Hatton, one of the gentlemen of the queen's privy chamber, the captain of the royal bodyguard, and her prime favourite. Doughty probably turned Hatton's head with the dazzling prospect that the venture promised, and the queen in turn was influenced by her favourite. Walsingham's genius for management, moreover, also seems to have shown him in Drake a convenient instrument to force Elizabeth into war with Spain.

And finally the queen yielded, and informed Drake that she was prepared to subscribe a thousand crowns towards the expenses of the expedition; but only on condition that the enterprise was kept a dead secret, and that, above all things, Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer and her most trusted counsellor, should not be told what was afoot. That astute statesman, however, was fully aware what was happening. He said nothing; but seems quietly to have gone to work to prevent, by underhand means, the prank which his royal mistress had set her mind to. His tool was Thomas Doughty, who accompanied Drake as a gentleman adventurer, and nominally as captain of the land soldiers.

The project was very popular. Courtiers and merchants took shares freely, and cadets of the best West Country families offered their services as volunteers. The objects of the voyage had been carefully concealed lest the Spaniards should be forewarned, and it had been given out that the expedition was destined for Egypt. The Spaniards, however, aware through their agents that something was in the wind, thought a stroke was again intended against the West Indies. But the secret seems to have been well kept, for it was not until the ships reached the Cape Verde Islands that the rank and file of the expedition learnt that they were bound to the coast of Brazil and thence to the River Plate and beyond.

By the time Drake sailed, war with Spain again loomed large upon the political horizon, and there is considerable evidence which proves that the voyage was undertaken with the full consent of the queen, and that the original commission for innocent trade and exploration was supplemented by secret orders for a regular war of reprisal. It is stated by some authorities that the *Pelican* belonged to the queen, while Spanish prisoners stated that Drake carried the royal arms of England during his voyage. Prior to his departure Elizabeth also presented him with a

sword and sundry furnishings for his cabin. A gold embroidered sea-cap, and a green silk scarf edged with gold lace and embroidered at each end in fine gold thread with the words, "The Almighty be your guide and your protector to the ende," were also bestowed by the queen, and are still in the possession of the Drake family. Some authorities state that they were given after the great voyage; but from the wording on the scarf, it would appear equally likely that they were given before sailing. In any case, it is improbable in the extreme that marks of royal approval and encouragement would have been bestowed upon an unlicensed adventurer.

According to modern ideas the five ships comprising the expedition, the largest of which was the flagship, of 100 tons, seem absurdly small for an ocean voyage of unknown duration. But it was the age of small ships, and before the days of a regular system of ship measurement according to the amount they could carry. The *Pelican*, then accounted a sizable vessel was probably about the dimensions of a coasting schooner of the present day, though with considerably more freeboard and superstructure.

The vessels were manned by 150 men and 14 boys, which number included men of science as well as gentlemen volunteers and mariners. They were amply stored and provisioned for their hazardous voyage, and carried on board four pinnaces in sections ready to be put together when required. A rich man through his successes on the Spanish Main, Drake spared no expense in fitting out. Arms and munitions were of the best, expert musicians were provided, and the table furniture in Drake's cabin, itself redolent at times with perfumes given by the queen, were of silver, richly gilt and engraved with the family arms. There were also, according to Francis Fletcher, the chaplain, who wrote an account of the voyage, "divers shows of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, among

all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired."

Drake was generally a man of simple tastes. But he realised the value of display before strangers, and in setting forth on his voyage he surrounded himself with all the pomp and luxury possible.

With a fair wind and smooth water the little fleet ran down across the Bay of Biscay and finally arrived at Mogador, on the coast of Morocco, on December 25th. Here they set up one of the pinnaces and obtained some provisions and merchandise, sailing again to the southward on the last day of the year. On the way they captured three Spanish fishing boats and three caravels, and with them arrived at Cape Blanco on January 16th, 1578. Five days were spent in cleaning the ships, trading with the miserable inhabitants, and laying in provisions, and all but two of the prizes were released, for one of which, a stout vessel of 40 tons, the little *Christopher* was given in exchange. On the 21st the squadron sailed from Cape Blanco, and with a fair north-easterly breeze, shaped course for the Cape Verde Islands, where Drake meant to water and victual, preparatory to the long stretch across the open ocean to Brazil.

In the Cape Verde Islands he had anything but a friendly reception. Hawkins and other slave traders had made hateful the name of Englishmen, and on the arrival of the squadron the inhabitants fled, after filling their wells with salt and doing everything in their power to prevent provisions from being obtained. It was at the island of Maio that Doughty started to sow the seed of dissension which finally lost him his head, for on being landed with a party of musketeers he began secretly to tamper with the men.

Off St. Iago they captured a Portuguese ship on her way to Brazil. She carried various passengers and was laden with a rich cargo of wine, silk, cloth, and various stores useful to the fleet. Doughty was placed in command of the captured vessel, and the

fleet passed on to the island of Brava, where they provisioned and watered. Here Drake went on board the prize, to find that Doughty was accused of pilfering the cargo. There was a serious quarrel, which resulted, justly or otherwise, in the offender being sent on board the *Pelican*.

The Brazil ship was so suitable a vessel that Drake attached her to the expedition, setting all the prisoners at liberty without ransom and providing them with a pinnace for their return to St. Iago, acts of clemency which much surprised them. One man Drake retained, and he, a Genoese pilot for the Brazils, named Nunez da Silva, volunteered to serve in the expedition as soon as he heard that it was intended to pass into the Pacific by the route discovered by Magellan, but since abandoned as too hazardous. On February 2nd, the fleet sailed on its long passage, Drake himself transferring to the prize, which was renamed the *Mary*.

Fifteen days later the squadron crossed the Equator, where for three weeks they were becalmed in the doldrums and made little or no progress. Mr. Fletcher finds time to admire the bonito, the flying fish, and sea-birds, but "being in the bosome of the burning zone," he says, "we felt the effect of sultring heat, not without the affrights of flashings, lightnings, and terrifyings of often claps of thunder; yet still with the admixture of many comforts."

The ships had not been able properly to fill their water-casks since leaving England, and Mr. Fletcher's "comforts" were that between February 10th and 27th, "there was not one day went over us but we received some raine, whereby our want of water was much supplied." Scarcity of water was one of the chief terrors of early seamen, and with no distilling plants to replenish their stock in mid-ocean we can well understand their gratitude for the blessings of Providence.

They were out of sight of land for sixty-three days

before sighting the coast of Brazil in the vicinity of the Rio Grande on April 5th, and during the long ocean voyage Doughty's behaviour again gave cause for complaint. He was not a seaman by profession, merely a gentleman adventurer, and had been put on board the *Pelican* more or less under reprimand. But once there he had endeavoured to take command, giving the crew to understand that he was Drake's deputy and that, as such, he had the powers of life and death vested in the leader.

The whole root of the trouble lay in the fact that the relative status of the gentlemen adventurers and sea officers had never been properly defined, and in fomenting jealousy between them and consequent insubordination, Doughty possibly saw formidable weapons for carrying out Burghley's instructions and jeopardising the success of the expedition. In the Spanish Navy, it was the custom for the professional seamen of the ship to be subordinate to the soldier in command, a habit which accounted largely for its inefficiency. Drake, however, wished it otherwise. He was determined that the sailor should command at sea, and Doughty's assumption of authority incited his wrath. It was the last straw when Drake's trumpeter, who had been sent on board the *Pelican* with a message, was subjected to a clobbering at the hands of Doughty and his men. The leader regarded the incident as a deliberate insult and insubordination, and without permitting the offender to say a word in defence, sent him on board the victualler in disgrace.

Coasting along the land to the southward, the fleet experienced bad weather and contrary winds, during which the *Christopher*, as the Spanish fishing boat captured off Cape Blanco had been named, lost touch with her consorts. But finally they all reassembled again in the River Plate, the predetermined rendezvous, anchoring in various bays from April 14th until the 27th. Considerably to their surprise, they found fresh water alongside, and spent the time refilling

their casks, refitting the ships, and killing a quantity of seals for food.

On sailing the little fleet stood on to the south ; but again had ill-luck, for the weather was very bad and the victualler *Swan*, on board of which was Thomas Doughty, parted company. Gale succeeded gale as Drake crept slowly on to find an anchorage. The *Mary*, commanded by his brother, Thomas Drake, lost touch. The ships were constantly separated, and though from time to time they anchored off the coast, it was only to be driven out to sea again by bad weather. Drake had determined to reduce the number of his vessels so that they might more easily keep company, and, by concentrating the men, to facilitate the supply and issue of provisions. But for several weary weeks the search for a suitable port continued, and so bad was the weather that Drake, superstitious like other seamen of his day, came to the conclusion that the malcontents in his fleet were responsible for it by sorcery and black magic. Thomas Doughty had a considerable following among the gentlemen adventurers, including John Doughty, his brother, and never had they ceased their efforts to undermine Drake's authority.

On May 18th, when the rest of the fleet lay at anchor at Port Desire, some 300 miles north of Magellan's passage, the *Swan* with Doughty on board reappeared. She was unloaded and broken up for firewood, her ironwork and other necessities being preserved. But her master had an unsavoury tale to tell. Doughty, it would seem, had never ceased to disparage Drake and to question his authority, and when reminded of the fate of Magellan's mutinous captains, had laughed and said that gallows were for dogs, not gentlemen. Drake seems to have overlooked it, for he took the offender back on board the *Pelican*. But still Doughty continued to preach mutiny. A violent quarrel took place, the upshot of which was that the offender found himself ignominiously punished

by being lashed to the mast. He was presently released, and, with his brother, was ordered on board the *Christopher*. They refused to obey, whereupon Drake directed tackle to be rigged to hoist them on board.

On June 3rd the four ships, still in company, sailed on. Once more the weather was tempestuous, and the *Christopher* lost touch. She was found again, and, to make the squadron still more compact, was broken up. The Doughtys, in disgrace, were put on board the *Elizabeth*, Captain Wynter, with strict orders that nobody should talk to them. Their fare and lodging was of the roughest, and for giving them the use of a cabin the boatswain of the *Elizabeth* was summarily disgraced.

As the expedition moved slowly south the weather got worse. It was summer time as they knew it ; but every mile they travelled the skies became more wintry, the weather colder, and the sea heavier and more threatening. The *Mary*, commanded by Thomas Drake, was eventually found, and on June 20th the squadron entered Port St. Julian to refit and to make preparations for the desperate attempt to pass through the Straits of Magellan and out into the Pacific. It was the very port where Magellan had anchored over half a century before, and the first thing they set eyes upon in that lonely wilderness was the remains of a gibbet. Buried at its foot they found two skeletons, those of Magellan's mutineers.

At Port St. Julian Drake lost two of his best men in an encounter with Patagonians ; but the place was the scene of a greater and more memorable tragedy, the trial and execution of Thomas Doughty. It is no part of our business here to discuss the rights and wrongs of that unhappy affair ; but a jury was formed with Wynter as its foreman, and the prisoner was solemnly tried for mutiny and treason. He was found guilty of mutiny, and in the course of the trial is said to have admitted betraying the object of the

expedition to Lord Burghley. The prisoner was given the choice of execution on the spot, of being sent back to England there to answer the charges against him, or of being marooned. He chose death, and on July 2nd, having been present at a farewell banquet with Drake, after which they received the Sacrament together, was beheaded. He died with great fortitude.

But there were other malcontents in the fleet, and as the work of refitting progressed there were further quarrels between the gentlemen and seamen. It was more than Drake could stand. He saw that the constant bickerings were jeopardising success, and ordering the ship's companies ashore he addressed them. The speech is so little known and the words were so much to the point that they are worth quoting at some length.

"I am a bad orator," he said. "My bringing up hath not been in learning, but what so I shall here speak . . . I will answer it in England, yea, and before her Majesty.

"We are very far from our country and friends. We are compassed in on every side with our enemies. . . . We must have these mutinies and discords that are grown among us redressed, for by the life of God it doth take my wits from me to think on it ; here is such controversy between the sailors and gentlemen, and such stomaching between the gentlemen and sailors, that it doth make me even mad to hear it. . . . I must have the gentlemen to haul and draw with the mariners, and the mariners with the gentlemen. . . . Let us show ourselves to be of a company. and let us not give occasion to the enemy to rejoice at our decay and overthrow.

"I would know him that would refuse to set his hand to a rope," he went on. "But I know there is not any such here ; and as gentlemen are very necessary for government's sake in the voyage, so have I shipped them for that, and to some further intent, and yet though I know sailors to be the most envious

people in the world, and so unruly without government, yet may I not be without them."

He proceeded by offering the *Marigold* to any who wished to return to England—"but," he added, "let them take heed that they go homeward, for if I find them in my way, I will surely sink them."

This strange mixture of cajolery, compliments, and defiance went straight to the hearts of his hearers, and one and all they consented to sail on with him, leaving the matter of wages to him. But he had not done with them yet. He proceeded to dismiss Wynter from the command of the *Elizabeth*, and all the other officers from their posts. He was asked why. "Is there any reason why I should not do so?" he demanded.

He went on to explain how Doughty had betrayed the expedition to Burghley, and charged various other members of the company by name with treachery. Thereupon they humbled themselves before him, and he continued by telling them that the queen had sent them out on the expedition, and warned them that if the voyage were a failure they would not only be objects of derision to their enemies, but also a great blot on their country for ever. He concluded by restoring every officer to his original rank and station in the squadron, and told them they served Her Majesty, the queen, not himself.

At Port St. Julian the Portuguese prize *Mary*, being leaky, was unladen and broken up, and on August 17th the fleet, now reduced to the *Pelican*, *Elizabeth*, and *Marigold*, sailed to the southward. Three days later they came to the entrance to the Straits of Magellan, where Drake, in homage to the queen, caused the ships to salute by striking their topsails upon the bunt. The *Christopher* had been broken up and Sir Christopher Hatton, through Doughty's execution, now had no visible connection with the expedition. Drake accordingly placed Hatton's crest of a golden hind on the poop of his

flagship, and renamed her the *Golden Hind*. It was a shrewd stroke of policy, for Drake was well aware of Hatton's influence with the queen, and knew how useful he could be in shielding him from the possible wrath of Burghley at Doughty's execution.

Drake was the second navigator to accomplish the passage of the straits. For the greater part of its length it is tortuous and narrow, a place of fierce, irregular tides studded with dangerous rocks and shoals. There were no accurate charts, and on all sides the ships were hemmed in by steep, iron-bound cliffs rising inland to huge snow-covered peaks. On one side lay an active volcano, which, with fires lit by the natives, encouraged the superstitious credulity of the seamen. The biting wind came down the glacier-filled valleys in fierce gusts which buffeted the ships this way and that. Unable to anchor on account of the depth of water they were carried hither and thither by the strong currents. Not once, but many times, they were nearly cast ashore. The passage was difficult enough to appal the stoutest seaman. Even in these days it is regarded as hazardous enough for a sailing vessel. But Drake's cumbrous little ships struggled on, and in sixteen days he brought his fleet out in triumph into the Pacific.

Not far from the western outlet of the straits they came to three islands which appeared large and fruitful. The crew slaughtered many penguins for food, and found in them "a very good and wholesome victual," while Drake, landing upon the largest island, named it Elizabeth Island in honour of the queen.

On September 6th they entered the Pacific; but at once the great ocean belied its name. It proved rather to be a "*Mare furiosum*," says Fletcher, for it was the stormiest sea they had ever sailed upon.

A furious westerly gale hurled the ships 600 miles back to the south-east of Cape Horn. The sky was darkened with masses of piled up cloud, and, says Mr. Fletcher, "the winds were such as if the bowels

of the earth had set them all at liberty. The seas were rolled up from the depths and being aloft were carried as feathers or drifts of snow by the violence of the winds. Our anchors gave over their holdfast, committing the distressed ships and helpless men to the uncertain and rolling seas which tossed them like a ball in a racket."

After three weeks' incessant struggle the *Marigold* went down with all hands. The *Elizabeth* also parted company with the flagship, and fought her way back into Magellan's Straits. Here Wynter, her captain, lit fires nightly to tell Drake where he was. But no Drake appeared. It had been agreed that in the event of separation the fleet should rendezvous off the coast near Valparaiso ; but Wynter lost heart. After three weeks, he set sail for England, arriving on June 2nd, 1579, with the report that all the ships were lost except the *Golden Hind*, and that she probably had perished also.

It had hitherto been thought that Tierra del Fuego was the northern extremity of a vast continent stretching to the South Pole, and that the Straits of Magellan provided the only means of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific. But Drake, by being driven far to the southward by the storm, proved that Tierra del Fuego was merely an island. October 28th, when the storm ceased, found him anchored among islands in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn. He was southward of anything known to geographers or seamen, and before him the Pacific and Atlantic mingled in mighty turmoil. The discovery was of vast importance in the progress of geographical knowledge, and landing on the farthest island with his instruments, Drake fell to his knees and embraced the southernmost point of the known world.

The *Golden Hind*, now alone, tarried a while to refresh and recuperate her crew, and on October 30th sailed for the rendezvous appointed for the squadron near Valparaiso. The weather became fine and sunny,

and sailing on up the west coast of South America, she stopped at various anchorages, where they had intercourse with the natives and replenished their food and water. At one place, however, they were attacked by Indians, two men being killed and many others being wounded. Drake himself was shot in the face by an arrow and received another wound in the head.

On December 5th they arrived at Valparaiso. Here there were no traces of the *Elizabeth* or *Marigold*, but in their stead a great Spanish galleon—*The Grand Captain of the South*—lay at anchor in the harbour. Laden with gold and wine, she was waiting for a fair wind to take her to Panama, and her crew, taking the *Golden Hind* for a Spaniard, hoisted their colours and beat their drums. They were soon disabused. Drake took his little ship alongside and boarded with his men, and in a few minutes all the Spaniards who had not jumped overboard and swam ashore, were safe under hatches. Not a life was taken.

For three days the *Golden Hind* remained in harbour relieving the galleon of four hundred pounds' weight of gold and other valuables. Landing, they rifled the church, finding a chalice, two cruets, and an altar-cloth, which were given to the chaplain to improve his Communion furniture, and also provided themselves with a quantity of provisions in the shape of wine, bread, and bacon.

Drake's next anxiety was to collect his squadron for attacks upon Lima and Panama. He explored many a little creek and bay ; but not a trace of his countrymen could he discover. On December 19th he entered a bay near a Spanish town called Cyppo, where, on landing, his men were instantly attacked by Spaniards. One man, in a spirit of foolish bravado, refused to retreat to the boats. He was killed, his corpse being dragged in brutal triumph to the shore, where his head and hands were cut off, his heart torn out, and his body shot full of arrows by the Indians.

The next day they found a better harbour to the north-east, where they remained for a month, thoroughly refitting the ship and setting up one of the pinnaces. Their next place of call was Tarapaca, where, while looking for water, they came upon a Spaniard asleep who had lying by him 13 bars of silver to the value of 4000 ducats, or about £1400. "We would not (could we have chosen) have awakened him of his nap," the Reverend Mr. Fletcher states, "but seeing we, against our wills, did him that injury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would have kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleep in more security."

A little later they came across a Spaniard driving eight Peruvian sheep, or llamas, carrying 800 lbs. of silver. This they possessed themselves of. On January 26th, 1579, Drake anchored at Mormorena, where he obtained supplies from the Spaniards. "We found them (more from fear than love) somewhat tractable," says the chaplain.

On February 7th the *Golden Hind* arrived at Arica, the spot where the wealth of the Potosi mines of Peru was shipped for Panama. In two small ships they found some forty bars of silver weighing 800 lbs., "of which we took the burden on ourselves to ease them." At Ariquepa they were disappointed of booty, but on the passage up the coast they encountered another barque laden with linen "some of which we thought might stand us in some stead, and therefore took it with us."

The other ships not having been found, Drake had now come to realise that he was entirely alone and had only himself and his crew to depend upon. On February 15th at dead of night, the *Golden Hind* entered Lima. There were thirty ships in the harbour. All were ransacked, but nothing was found except a few chests of small coin and some bales of silk and linen. But here it was learnt that the galleon, *Our*

Lady of the Conception, nicknamed *Cacafuego* or *Spitfire*, had sailed fourteen days before for Panama with the whole produce of the Lima mines for the season. She was ballasted with silver, with a cargo of gold and jewels.

It was enough for Drake. Leaving Lima on February 16th, he set every sail in chase. He crossed the Equator on February 28th, and on the way fell in with a brigantine which they despoiled of 80 lbs. weight of gold and a great gold crucifix said to be set with emeralds as large as pigeon's eggs.

The Viceroy of Peru, meanwhile, had despatched ships in pursuit of the raider, but the *Golden Hind*, staggering northward under all the sail she could carry, rapidly overhauled her quarry. Drake had offered a golden chain to the man who should first sight her unmistakable sails, and at last, on the afternoon of March 1st, off Cape St. Francis, his nephew John Drake claimed the reward.

The *Cacafuego* was sailing lazily along close by the shore, and thinking she was being followed by some heavily laden trader and glad of company in her long voyage, shortened sail. The sun was still well above the horizon, however, and Drake was well aware that if the galleon suspected his true character she would run in upon the land. He had no desire to capture her before night, when there would be an off-shore breeze, and filling empty wine-skins with water, he trailed them astern to check his way.

At last the sun sank in the west and the rosy after-glow faded from the snowy peaks of the Andes. Then, when darkness came, the wine-skins were hauled in and the water rippled round the *Golden Hind's* fore-foot as she drove ahead in the freshening breeze. She rapidly overhauled the galleon, crossed her bows, and came alongside her starboard side.

San Juan de Anton, the *Cacafuego's* captain, looked over the side of his ship; but already the English

were grappling her and shouting, "Englishmen! Strike sail!"

"What England is this which orders me to strike sail?" the Spaniard replied, accustomed to the Spanish monopoly of the Pacific and hardly able to believe his ears. "Come on board and strike the sails for yourselves!"

A whistle blew on board the *Golden Hind*. A trumpet screeched. It was followed by a flight of arrows and a volley from many arquebuses. A gun roared, and the shot carried away the galleon's mizzenmast and sent it overboard with its sail and lateen yard. Another gun blazed out, and forty archers from the pinnacle, which had been sent round to her port side, boarded the galleon and were soon in possession.

Seizing San Juan, they took him to Drake, who was removing his fighting helmet and coat of mail. Drake embraced him, saying, "Have patience, for such is the usage of war," and ordered him to be locked up in the poop cabin under guard.

For three days the two ships in company sailed to the north-westward, and another three were spent in transferring the booty from the *Cacafuego* to the *Golden Hind* by means of the pinnacle. It was a rich haul—a quantity of pearls, emeralds, and diamonds, 80 lbs. of gold, 13 chests of coined silver, 26 tons of uncoined silver, and besides fruit, conserves, sugar, meal, and other victuals, two very fair silver-gilt drinking bowls and other "trifles." The whole capture was subsequently valued by the Spanish Ambassador at a million and a half of ducats, or £692,250. There is good reason for believing that the great silver and gilt cup now preserved among the Drake relics at Nutwell Court is one of those captured from the *Cacafuego*.

The Spanish captain remained a week on board the *Golden Hind*, during which he was well treated and cared for. Then, putting the hapless Spaniards on board their plundered vessel with a little linen

and the like in exchange for the commodities taken from them, and signing his name in the ship's log as a receipt for all the treasure which had been entered as freight, Drake permitted them to depart. He had also given San Juan a safe conduct in case he should be molested by any other English ship, and thinking, no doubt, of his kinsmen and friends who had been tortured and burnt at the stake by the Inquisition, had said to him, "I know the Viceroy will send for thee to inform himself of your proceedings. Thou must tell him that he shall do well to put no more Englishmen to death, and to spare those four that he hath in his hands, for if he do execute them, they shall cost the lives of two thousand Spaniards, whom I will hang and send him their heads."

To attempt to capture Panama single-handed was sheer folly, for the entire coast of New Spain was in a fever of apprehension, troops being concentrated, and ships being hastily fitted out and armed. Drake's only desire was to get home by the quickest possible route. From England various navigators were seeking the fabled Strait of Anian, which was supposed to connect the Atlantic and Pacific round the north of America, and having already established the non-existence of the great continent to the southward of Tierra del Fuego, and mapped out the western coast of South America, Drake made up his mind to add to his reputation by going home by this north-west passage. His resolve completely outwitted the Spaniards who had been sent to intercept him, for he was sought off Panama and the Straits of Magellan with no success.

Three weeks after dismissing the *Cacafuego*, Drake fell in with another Spanish vessel, from which he helped himself to some linen, cloth, porcelain dishes, silk, and a falcon wrought in pure gold, with a great emerald set in its breast. After taking out the pilot he allowed the ship to proceed. Don Francisco de

Zarate, the captain of this vessel, gives an intimate picture of Drake—"a man of some five-and-thirty years, small of stature, and red bearded, one of the greatest sailors on the sea, both from skill and power of commanding. His ship carried about 400 tons, is swift of sail, and of a hundred men, all skilled and in their prime, and . . . much experienced in warfare. Each one in particular takes great pains to keep his arms clean; he treats them with affection, and they treat him with respect; he brings with him nine or ten gentlemen. . . . These are his council. . . . None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission. . . . He dines and sups to the music of violins . . . when our vessel was plundered, none dared take anything without his leave; he was very gracious to them, but punished the smallest fault. He carries also painters who paint him the coast in its own colour!"

Drake refitted his ship at Canoas Bay, in California, careening her, setting up a forge and repairing and re-rigging her from stem to stern. On April 15th, running into the port of Guatulco for water and provisions, he found a Spanish court sitting for the trial of a batch of negroes. An English boat's crew appeared, tied the judges hand and foot, and carried them off to the *Golden Hind* as hostages, making them send an order to all the inhabitants to leave the town. They laid in a stock of water and provisions from the Spanish storehouses, and did not forget, according to Mr. Fletcher, "to take with us also a certain pot—full of ryalls of plate—together with a chain of gold, and some other jewels, which we entreated a Spanish gentleman to leave behind him, as he was flying out of the town!"

Remaining only for a day, the *Golden Hind* sailed again on April 16th, and off the coast of Nicaragua had the happy fortune to fall in with a galleon carrying a new governor to the Philippines. The official was dispossessed of his valuables, but, what was more

important, Drake obtained charts showing the course of the rich Spanish trade across the Pacific.

Between April 16th and June 3rd the *Golden Hind* sailed 1400 leagues to the northward, and arrived in about the latitude of Vancouver. Here, though it was summer, the weather was very severe, the very ropes of the ship being frozen stiff and the men half-paralysed with cold. They endured bitter tempests and "most vile, stinking fogs," and the men, willing enough in ordinary circumstances, began to complain. Farther progress to the northward was impossible, and here it was that Drake probably made up his mind to return to England round the Cape of Good Hope.

Running south, he brought the *Golden Hind* to a natural harbour near San Francisco on June 17th. Here they remained until July 24th, being received with great friendliness by the natives, who are said first to have worshipped the strangers as gods, and then, when convinced they were human, to have crowned Drake as king. Whatever the real import of their advances, Drake set up a brass plate announcing the annexation of the territory to the realm of Queen Elizabeth, and named the country "New Albion," because its cliffs were white like those of England.

Towards the end of July the *Golden Hind* finally left the west coast of America for her long passage across the Pacific. She steered straight for the Moluccas, and was out of sight of land for sixty-eight days, until, on September 30th, she came to what are now known as the Pellew Islands; but christened by Drake the "Islands of Thieves," for the predatory habits of the people.

It is unnecessary here to describe Drake's subsequent wanderings to Mindanao, the southern island of the Philippine group, and his run south through the Molucca passage to Ternate, where he visited, and was visited by, the native king, and was supplied with

all his requirements together with a small quantity of cloves. In great friendliness he negotiated a commercial treaty with the king, which, for some time afterwards, was of no small value to British diplomats in their wrangles with the Dutch and Portuguese on the subject of the East India trade. He seems to have created a most favourable impression, for half a century later the king's son, who had succeeded his father, wrote to King James to say how eagerly he had looked forward to Drake's return. "I have lived in the same hope," he writes, "till I was the father of eleven children." He then adds that, disappointed at English indifference, he had been obliged to call in the Dutch to help them to expel their enemies, the Portuguese. It was at Ternate, also, that Drake met an influential Chinaman, who begged him to visit China, an invitation which was not accepted.

Leaving Ternate, the *Golden Hind* passed on to an island southward of the Celebes, where she remained for twenty-six days and was careened, watered, and victualled. Sailing again on December 12th, she tried to beat northward into the Straits of Macassar; but was forced to turn south again on account of the many shoals and small islands. With no accurate charts and imperfect navigational instruments, they were beset by constant danger of grounding, and on January 9th, 1580, at eight o'clock in the evening, while running before a light breeze with all her sail set and drawing, the ship ran hard and fast upon a reef. Expecting instant destruction and death, they prayed to the Almighty for help. The prayer concluded, Drake encouraged his men to bestir themselves, and to their joy they found the ship was not holed. The water round the shoal was so deep that anchors could not be laid out for kedging off, and they jettisoned four guns and some of the less valuable cargo. Still she remained fast. Then, providentially, the wind lulled and started to blow from the opposite direction. The tide rose, and at four o'clock the next afternoon,

having been ashore for twenty hours, the *Golden Hind* heeled over and slid bodily off into deep water. It was a merciful escape, the greatest danger they had encountered throughout the entire voyage.

For nearly a month more they struggled on to the westward through the dangerous rocks and shoals of the Flores and Java Seas, until, in the middle of March, they came to a port in Southern Java, where they had friendly intercourse with the natives, cleaned and refitted their ship, and were supplied with everything they wanted.

Drake had fulfilled his purpose of carrying the English flag into the Pacific. He had outwitted the Spaniards, had crossed from end to end a lonely ocean hitherto regarded as the property of Spain and Portugal, and had made important geographical discoveries. On March 26th, the little *Golden Hind*, her work done and her hold crammed with Spanish treasure, set her white wings to the favouring breeze and shaped her course direct for the Cape of Good Hope.

Little remains to be told. On May 21st they sighted Africa, coasting along it to the southward until June 18th, when, in fair weather and a south-easterly breeze, they rounded the Cape of Good Hope so closely that their guns might have shot to the land.

On July 22nd they came to Sierra Leone, where they watered and obtained lemons and oysters. On September 26th, 1580, "after two years, ten months, and some odd days besides, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties," the little *Golden Hind*, battered and weatherworn, her silken flags and pennons fluttering bravely in the breeze and her trumpeters playing a fanfare, sailed again into Plymouth Sound.

Beyond a vague rumour that Drake had been hanged by the Spaniards as a pirate, nothing had

been heard of him in England for some time. Wynter, returning in June, 1579, had brought home the news of the great storm in which the *Golden Hind* had vanished ; but two months later Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in London, hurled a bombshell into the political arena by springing upon the queen the startling intelligence of Drake's depredations in the Eastern Pacific, news of which had been received from the Viceroy of Mexico. The peace party was horrified ; but Walsingham could well afford to congratulate himself, for there seemed no alternative but war.

The queen, however, pacified the Spanish Ambassador by disclaiming all responsibility—declaring that Drake was a mere private adventurer, and that, if already executed, she would not object, while, if he ever came home, she would see that he was severely dealt by.

At the time of the *Golden Hind's* return, indeed, the peace party was predominant at court, and though Drake was enthusiastically received by the inhabitants of Plymouth, friends warned him of possible trouble brewing in London. He sent a message to announce his arrival ; but with characteristic resource warped his ship behind St. Nicholas, or Drake's Island, in Plymouth Sound, and remained on board with his wife.

Before long he was summoned to court to give an account of himself, and took the precaution of taking the best part of the booty with him. The queen's counsellors, meanwhile, were of divided opinion. Some were for war ; but others were ready for peace on any terms, saying that Drake's actions would inevitably bring about the hostilities they feared, and styling him the " Master thief of the unknown world."

Then came the news that Philip of Spain had annexed Portugal, thereby adding to his already vast dominions Portuguese possessions all over the world. A Spanish force had also been landed in Ireland, and Philip was collecting a great fleet at Cadiz for nobody knew what evil purpose. They were threats which could not be ignored.

Drake had become a popular hero, and though the queen could not acknowledge him openly, there is little doubt which way her heart inclined. Her attitude gradually stiffened. To Mendoza, who demanded the return of Drake's plunder and his punishment as a pirate, she retaliated by saying that the Spaniards, in ill-treating her subjects, in prohibiting commerce, by arrogating to themselves the sole right to colonise in, and to trade with, America, and by inciting rebellion in England and Ireland, deserved all they had got.

An inquiry was held at which every man of Drake's crew took oath that no cruelties had been committed. The *Golden Hind* was brought round to Deptford for Londoners to gaze at it, and the tale of her great achievement and the fabulous wealth she had brought home spread from mouth to mouth through every town and village in the country. The story lost nothing in the telling.

On New Year's Day, 1581, the queen publicly wore a great crown studded with emeralds given to her by Drake. On April, 4th, journeying to Deptford, she attended a magnificent banquet, afterwards going on board the *Golden Hind*, which was decorated for the occasion with silken flags and streamers, some of which are still preserved at Nutwell Court. She inspected the vessel and decorated Drake with a jewel containing her portrait, and then, on the poop of the first English ship that had carved her lonely furrow round the globe, borrowed the sword she had given him when he set forth, commanded him to kneel, and bestowed upon him the accolade of knighthood, as a reward for faithful service.

The *Golden Hind* was ordered to be laid up in dock as a monument to all posterity, one enthusiast even suggesting that she should be placed bodily upon the stump of the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral, which had recently fallen. She remained at Deptford until well on into the seventeenth century as an object of interest

for sightseers. She was patched and repaired again and again, but at last, falling into decay, was broken up, a portion of her timber being fashioned into the chair, now in the Bodleian Library, and another piece, which seems to have been a carved panel with Drake's arms on the back, being still preserved at Nutwell Court.

Sir Francis Drake lived to render further conspicuous service to his country against the hated Spaniards at sea. But we cannot here follow his fortunes until, on that fateful January 28th, 1596, he passed away on board the *Defiance* within sight of Nombre de Dios, and his mortal remains, enclosed in a leaden casket, were committed to the ocean that he knew and loved so well.

It is no part of our task here to extol the greatness of Drake as a seaman, but no history of our island is complete without his mention. Side by side with Nelson he stands out as one of our national heroes, and round his name have sprung up many legends, which, though they have no foundation in fact, are illustrative of the most remarkable hold which his fame has taken upon the minds of generations of his countrymen.

Still treasured by Sir Francis Drake's descendants is the great drum bearing his arms which is said to have accompanied him round the world in the *Golden Hind*, and may have been beaten in the final salute when his body was committed to the sea. A legend immortalised by Sir Henry Newbolt in his stirring poem, *Drake's Drum*, says that by beating this drum the great seaman can still be summoned when his country is in danger :—

“ Take my drum to England, hang et by the shore,
Strike et when your powder's runnin' low,
If the Dons sight Devon, I'll quit the port o' Heaven,
An' drum them up the Channel as we drummed
them long ago.”

§ 3

ANSON AND THE "CENTURION"

At Shugborough, in Staffordshire, is preserved the carved representation of portion of the leg of a lion. The relic has a curious history, for it is all that now remains of a great wooden lion rampant, sixteen feet high, which was once the figurehead of the *Centurion*, in which, between 1740 and 1744, Lord Anson made his celebrated voyage round the world.

The *Centurion*, thirty-seven years old, was broken up at Chatham in 1769, when her figurehead was presented to the Duke of Richmond by George III., and served for a time as the sign for a public-house at Goodwood. Here it was seen and admired by William IV., who acquired it as a staircase ornament for Windsor Castle. It was afterwards sent to Greenwich Hospital with orders from the king that it was to be placed in one of the wards, which was to be named the "Anson Ward." There it remained until 1871, when it was set up in the playground at the Naval School. It finally fell to pieces and the remains were put in an outhouse, whence the portion now preserved was recovered by Captain W. V. Anson, R.N., a descendant of the celebrated admiral.

At one period the pedestal upon which the lion stood bore the following words:—

"Stay, traveller, awhile and view
One who has travelled more than you.
Quite round the globe, through each degree,
Anson and I have ploughed the sea;
Torrid and frigid zones have passed,
And, safe ashore arrived at last,
In ease, with dignity appear
HE in the House of Lords, I here."

George Anson was born at Shugborough, in the parish of Colwich, Staffordshire, in 1697. He joined the Navy in 1712, to become a lieutenant four years later. In 1722 he obtained his first command, and in 1724 was promoted to captain. His rapid advancement and success, though largely due to merit, was undoubtedly attributable also to the fact that he was the nephew of Thomas Parker, afterwards Lord Parker and Earl of Macclesfield, who was created Lord Chancellor in 1718.

It is through his expedition round the world in the *Centurion* that Lord Anson is best known. He added comparatively little to geographical knowledge; but the voyage was carried out with such success in the face of such extraordinary difficulties that it has long been a subject of popular interest.

A skilful navigator and seaman, Anson had unbounded energy, pluck, and dogged determination. Calm and placid in temperament, unostentatious and simple in his manners, painstaking and thoughtful in all he did, he was a man of singularly accurate judgment and sound common sense. Essentially reserved and inclined to be undemonstrative, he was a strict disciplinarian. He was subject to none of those sudden flashes of genius and bursts of warm-hearted affection which characterised Nelson; but, generous and benevolent by nature, he took a fatherly interest in his men and was a firm friend to those who served him well. No less than seven of the junior officers who were with him in the *Centurion* rose to distinction as senior officers in the navy.

As an organiser and administrator at the Admiralty later on he showed great ability and did much for the efficiency of the service and the welfare of its officers and men. He won promotion to flag rank for his voyage round the world, and was created a peer for his defeat of the French fleet off Finisterre in 1747. Though in no sense a great or a brilliant victory, for the enemy were completely outmatched, it was

nevertheless a serious blow to the French arms. Moreover, it came at a time when a naval success was much to be desired, and was received, perhaps, with greater enthusiasm than it really merited.

Anson was a lucky man. Influence and merit combined carried him forward. His career was one of steady and continuous promotion, and at his death in 1762 at the age of 65, he was an admiral of the fleet, a peer, a privy councillor, one of the richest men in the country through prize money, and for many years had served at the summit of his profession as First Lord of the Admiralty.

Appointed to the *Centurion* in 1737, Anson served in her on the west coast of Africa for the protection of trade. He afterwards sailed in the same ship to the West Indies; but was recalled to England on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739, it being the intention to give him the command of one of two squadrons which were to be sent out to harass the Spanish in the Pacific. But naval affairs at the time were at a very low ebb, and eventually, due to lack of money and heavy commitments elsewhere, it was found necessary to send one expedition only, of which Anson was given command with the nominal rank of Commodore.

He received his commission in January, 1740, and his official instructions the following June. His squadron was to consist of the *Centurion*, fourth rate, of 60 guns; the 50-gun ships *Severn* and *Gloucester*; the *Pearl*, *Wager*, and *Tryal* of 40, 28, and 8 guns respectively, and two victuallers. Thanks to other pressing naval needs, and to maladministration and jobbery among the responsible officials, the equipment, manning, and despatch of the ships were much delayed.

Men-of-war in the middle of the eighteenth century were short, full-bodied, high-sterned craft with bluff, rounded bows and low decks. They carried no fore and aft canvas, but square sprit-sails on their bowsprits.

They were heavy and practically unsinkable ; but were unsuited for beating to windward. Ill-ventilated, they soon became full of vermin, while the food was unspeakably foul, the pay small, and the treatment of the men cruel. Large crews were carried, and hundreds of men were crowded on the dark, foetid gun-decks where privacy, peace, and cleanliness were alike unknown. One of the few attractions that the navy offered was the chance of making large sums in prize money ; nevertheless few men volunteered as seamen. The untrained portions of the crews were composed of men gathered by press-gangs ashore and by offenders sent to sea instead of to prison. The best seamen were pressed from homeward-bound merchantmen, a cruel practice by which trained seamen, after a two or three years' voyage, were dragged willy-nilly from their ships within sight of home, to serve in the navy for another long period. The *Centurion* obtained seventy-three men in this way by sending a tender to the Downs. Nineteen of these, risking execution for so doing, promptly deserted at Portsmouth.

Defects in the ships themselves were constantly coming to light. A rotten cavity, eleven inches deep, was discovered in the *Centurion's* foremast after that spar had been passed as serviceable by officials of Portsmouth dockyard. And the food was no better. Forty-two out of the *Gloucester's* seventy-two puncheons of beef were found to be stinking and unfit for use before she left home. Biscuit was sometimes so worm-eaten that it was little better than dust when broken—peas and oatmeal were decayed when put on board. And so it was with stores and provisions throughout the navy. That ships at sea were endangered and the lives of men forfeited signified nothing to a tribe of corrupt officials ashore who made comfortable incomes through speculation and fed not only their families, but also their pigs and poultry, upon provisions intended for the seamen.

In June, 1740, Anson's squadron was still short of 300 able seamen. Only 175 were sent to make up the deficiency, of whom 32 were from hospital and 98 were raw marines. It had also been intended that a complete regiment of foot and three independent companies of 100 men each should be embarked as land forces. The men that were actually provided consisted of 500 out-pensioners from Chelsea Hospital, men who from their age, wounds, and infirmities, were incapable of service in marching regiments.

On hearing of this unwelcome reinforcement Anson, being fully aware what the expedition would have to face in the way of dangers, hardship, and privation, protested through the Admiralty. To his expostulation came back the curt reply that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than Lords of the Admiralty and Commodores considered the men in every way suited to the service in hand. The unhappy veterans joined the squadron in August; but instead of 500 men no more than 259 actually came on board, all those who had limbs and strength to use them deserting at Portsmouth. Most of the decrepit band who did join were over 60 years of age, some upwards of 70, while one poor creature had been badly wounded at the Battle of the Boyne half a century before. To make up the numbers, 210 new recruits who were scarcely able to handle firearms, were sent on board as marines. To anticipate, it may here be said that within a year all but three or four of the Chelsea Hospital contingent had perished miserably from scurvy and privation. Not one of them saw England again.

The squadron finally sailed from St. Helen's, Isle of Wight, on September 18th, 1740, manned by a total of 1872 souls. Anson's orders were to proceed to the west coast of South America and there to sink, burn, or destroy any Spanish vessels he came across, and to harass the Spaniards generally by raiding or capturing towns or other possessions.

He was also told to look out for and capture if possible the galleon which sailed each year from Acapulco across the Pacific to Manila with a valuable cargo. Much was left to his own judgment, particularly in regard to the places he visited and the period of his absence, while he was at liberty to return to England either by way of China or round Cape Horn, as he thought fit.

Due to baffling winds, Madeira was not reached until October 25th, a passage of thirty-seven days. Even in this short time illness had made itself apparent, for in the squadron fourteen men died and there were 122 sick. At Madeira Anson stayed for a week, watering and provisioning, and during his visit was informed by the friendly Portuguese Governor that a Spanish squadron of six ships had been sighted cruising to the westward of the island. They were under the command of Don Joseph Pizarro, and had been sent out to intercept Anson on his passage to Cape Horn, for, thanks to the delay in equipping and sailing, full particulars of his strength and destination had reached even the Spanish settlements on the west coast of America before he sailed from England. Don Joseph, however, for reasons best known to himself, sailed on to South America without attempting to bring Anson to action.

On November 3rd the expedition sailed for its next rendezvous, the Portuguese island of Santa Catharina off the coast of Brazil. During the passage one of the victuallers was emptied and sent away, while on November 20th the captains reported the excessive sickness of their ship's companies. It was fever and the beginnings of that dreadful disease scurvy, the bane of all the earlier voyagers, and was brought on by wet decks, crowded, ill-ventilated living accommodation, unsuitable clothing, and abominable food. Orders were given for six air scuttles to be cut in each ship; but even this did little to alleviate matters. No less than eighty sick were landed from the *Centurion*

and housed in tents ashore on her arrival at Santa Catharina on December 21st, while her decks had to be scraped fore and aft, the ship thoroughly cleaned, and living spaces fumigated and washed with vinegar to rid her of the noisome stench that prevailed.

At Santa Catharina all the vessels were watered and provisioned. They also laid in stocks of wood for cooking purposes, and were caulked and refitted aloft in readiness for the tempestuous voyage round the Horn. The little sloop *Tryal* was in particularly bad order, her mainmast being sprung and her foremast unfit for use. The squadron put to sea again on January 18th, 1741; but during the visit of about a month the flagship buried no less than twenty-eight of her men, while the number of her sick, after allowing for the deaths, leapt from eighty to ninety-six. In the entire squadron there had been 160 deaths since leaving England and 450 on the sick list.

No sooner had they left for the next rendezvous, Port St. Julian, about 250 miles north of Magellan's Straits, than they ran into bad weather, with fogs and much rain. The *Tryal* lost her mainmast and had to be taken in tow. The *Pearl* lost touch, rejoining on February 17th after an absence of nearly a month to report that she had fallen in with Pizarro's squadron at sea a week earlier and had narrowly escaped capture.

The Spaniards, indeed, had received news of Anson's arrival at Santa Catharina and left Maldonado, in the River Plate, in great haste four days before Anson sailed from Santa Catharina. It was their idea to reach the Pacific before the English, and during their passage the two squadrons must have been very close. Due to the proximity of the enemy, Anson would not have delayed had it not been for the bad condition of the *Tryal*. To repair her, however, was essential, and the squadron anchored at Port St Julian on February 19th.

Sailing again after eight days, there was little wind until they came in sight of the land at the

eastern end of the Straits of Magellan on March 4th. Running on down the coast of Tierra del Fuego, they passed through the Straits of Le Maire three days later in fine weather and a brisk breeze ; but immediately on leaving them behind the elements seemed to break loose.

Gale after gale, assisted by a strong current flowing round Cape Horn, drove the ships to the eastward. In the huge seas the violent rolling of the ships caused many casualties, and though at times vessels set their topsails or double-reefed courses when the wind lulled, it was only to have them blown into streamers when the tempest suddenly returned.

Sometimes, for days together, they lay under reefed mizzens, sometimes drove under bare poles. It became bitterly cold with fierce storms of snow and sleet, so that sails and rigging became frozen stiff and the men badly frost-bitten. By continual labouring in the mountainous seas, the *Centurion* became so loose in her upper works that water squirted in at every roll, and scarcely any of her officers ever lay in dry beds. Sails were split to ribbons, rigging was carried away, masts and yards were damaged again and again. In the lulls they did their best to effect repairs ; but as often as not the work was rendered useless by the fury of the storm. For fifty-eight days on end the *Centurion* had her courses reefed.

The ships were still in company ; but had been carried far to the eastward. On the night of April 14th, when they imagined themselves to be round Cape Horn, the moon shone out and the mist cleared to disclose the rock-bound coast of Tierra del Fuego two miles dead ahead. They were only saved from running bodily ashore by the merciful clearing of the murk and a providential shift of wind from south-west to west-north-west.

Meanwhile, in every ship, scurvy raged. Until she was up to the Horn, the *Centurion* lost one or two men a week ; but then the mortality suddenly increased.

By the end of April there were few men on board who were not afflicted with the dreadful disease, and in that month no less than forty-three of her men died of it. In May nearly double that number were lost, two hundred of her crew having perished since leaving England, so that there were not more than six sound seamen in each watch.

Now, with scurvy practically unknown, it is well-nigh impossible to imagine the horrible conditions of the disease. Men became dejected and as weak as tiny children, weeping, fainting, and sometimes dying if they made the least exertion. They suffered from large discoloured spots all over their bodies, their limbs swelled hideously, and they developed loathsome ulcers. Bones and flesh rotted away. Gums swelled and teeth dropped out. Limbs that had been fractured years before and had mended parted again, the joints dissolving into fluid. The wounds of the veteran of the *Boyne*, inflicted fifty years before, reopened and bled as though just inflicted.

In their second attempt to round Cape Horn the squadron was scattered. The *Severn* and *Pearl*, badly damaged and their crews diminishing daily, were driven eastward, eventually returning to Rio Janeiro and thence to England. The *Wager* went ashore in the Gulf of Penas on the coast of Chile and became a total loss, her survivors suffering incredible hardships before reaching home. The *Gloucester*, *Tryal*, and the *Anna*, the victualler, lost touch. The *Centurion*, quite alone, rounded the Horn in tempestuous weather, eventually arriving on May 8th off the island of Socoro, in Patagonia, the next rendezvous.

For a fortnight she cruised on and off the land, waiting for her consorts ; but at length, seeing nothing of them, sailed on towards Juan Fernandez, the next meeting place. The bad weather continued, sails being constantly blown into ribbons, rigging damaged, and masts endangered. The ship was nearly driven ashore on the island of Chiloe ; but, managing to

escape disaster, struggled on to the northward. The weather became finer ; but deaths on board were increasing to a dreadful extent, and water was running short. Moreover, due to the uncertainty in their longitude, they missed Juan Fernandez and spent no less than twelve days in finding it, thereby losing seventy or eighty more men, whose lives might have been saved if they could have been put ashore in time.

At last, on June 10th, the *Centurion* crept wearily in towards her anchorage at Juan Fernandez. Of her original company of 506, including invalids and soldiers, little more than 200 remained, most of the survivors being so ravaged by disease that only two quartermasters and six seamen could be mustered for trimming sails. So weak were the crew that officers, servants and boys all lent a willing hand in bringing the ship to an anchor.

Soon after the flagship's arrival the sloop *Tryal* appeared, thirty-four of her eighty men having died, and the remainder being so ill that only two officers and three men were available for duty.

The expedition, so far, had been a ghastly holocaust.

Juan Fernandez is a small island of volcanic origin some 400 miles from the coast of Chile, and owes its name to a Spaniard who discovered and attempted to cultivate it before the time of Drake. Before Anson's visit it had served as a base for the buccaneers and privateers who haunted the Southern Pacific, and from 1704 to 1709 had been inhabited by Alexander Selkirk, the original of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, though the author, for literary purposes, places the island on the other side of America near the Orinoco. The island is very fertile and well wooded, and in Anson's time provided quantities of vegetables, including turnips, radishes, and wild sorrel. The sea was well stocked with fish, seals, and sea-lions, while the higher slopes were infested by numbers of wild goats, some of which, of aged and venerable aspect, had

been ear-marked by Selkirk thirty-two years before. Juan Fernandez, indeed, was a veritable little paradise to the scurvy-stricken crews who had endured the awful rigours of a long and tempestuous voyage.

At once all available men were employed in erecting tents ashore for the reception of the sick, and between June 16th and 18th all the ailing were landed. Two hundred and sixty-seven were taken ashore, the greater number being so ill that they had to be hoisted into the boats in their hammocks and carried to their tents over a rough and stony beach, work in which the commodore and all his officers assisted. Fourteen men died in the boats on their way ashore, and for the first ten or twelve days rarely less than six were buried each day. Thanks, however, to the bountiful supplies of fresh meat and vegetables that the island provided, the disease gradually abated and the invalids began to recover.

On June 21st a ship was sighted by the look-outs ; but presently faded away in the mist. On the 26th, however, she hove in sight again, and was this time recognised as the *Gloucester*. From her small canvas it was concluded she was in dire straits, and the commodore at once sent his boat to her laden with water, fish, and vegetables. She was indeed, in desperate condition. Two-thirds of her crew were already dead, and of those who remained alive scarcely any except the officers and their servants were fit for duty. A pint of water to each man was the daily allowance, and had it not been for the fresh supply they must soon have died of thirst.

The unhappy ship came within three miles of the island ; but could come no nearer on account of contrary winds and currents. The next day she was still in sight, and Anson again sent off a boatload of water and food. The *Gloucester's* captain retained both boat's crews to assist him in working his ship ; but for eighteen days she hovered off the island without being able to fetch the anchorage. At length,

on July 9th, she disappeared to the eastward and was lost sight of for a week. She reappeared on the 16th ; but, with the wind still in her teeth, could not make the anchorage. Signals of distress were made and again a boat was sent off to her. But for this last supply of water all on board must have died. Numbers of her men were expiring daily, and as she had now been nearly a month striving to make the anchorage, the survivors, losing heart, were in despair of ever reaching it.

Again she vanished from view ; but hove in sight again on July 23rd, and what boats were available were sent to tow her to the anchorage. Her crew had been reduced to eighty souls, and it is difficult to imagine any torture more prolonged or heart-breaking than their thirty-two days of ineffectual attempts to reach their haven of refuge.

Anson was not unnaturally anxious as to Pizarro's movements, for if he were caught at Juan Fernandez with the greater number of his men ill ashore and his ships dismantled and refitting, the results might have been serious. He was not to know until later that the Spanish squadron, in trying to round the Horn, had suffered even greater misfortunes than himself. Pizarro's ships were scattered in the stormy weather ; two were lost, and after enduring the pangs of famine and the loss of the greater portion of their crews, the battered remnant were hurled back to the River Plate, never to penetrate to the Pacific.

Meanwhile, at Juan Fernandez, the work of caring for the many invalids, cleaning the ships, refitting, wooding, and watering continued. There was much to be done, and besides these necessary occupations men were employed in making oil from the blubber of sea-lions for use in lamps and also, mixed with pitch and wood-ashes, as composition for treating the ship's sides and waterlines. They also set up a bakery ashore, and laid in a supply of cod which they salted for future use.

On August 16th the *Anna*, the victualler, arrived and anchored. She had spent nearly two months at an anchorage on the mainland repairing damages and recruiting the health of her crew, and as she carried provisions for the squadron, was a very welcome arrival. On unloading her, however, it was found that a great proportion of her cargo was decayed and utterly unfit for use.

The *Tryal*, which was sent off to the neighbouring island of Masafuera, lest any of the missing vessels should have gone there, returned without news of them, and towards the end of August the *Anna*, which was rotten and unseaworthy, was purchased and broken up, her men being sent to the *Gloucester*.

By the beginning of September the deaths from scurvy had ceased, and most of the invalids were back at work. The mortality, however, had been appalling, for since leaving St. Helen's the *Centurion* had lost 292 men out of 506 on board; the *Gloucester* 292 out of 374, and the *Tryal* 42 out of 81. The three ships had thus left England with 961 men, of whom 626, or 65 per cent. had perished. Only 335 men and boys, a number insufficient for the proper manning of the *Centurion* alone, were left for three vessels. A less persistent man than Anson might well have been tempted to return to England with the remains of the expedition, and nobody could have blamed him. But the commodore was not the type to flinch in the face of adversity, and determined to see the voyage through, come what might.

On September 8th a sail was sighted off the island, and the *Centurion*, hastily setting up her rigging, swaying her yards aloft, and bending her sails, soon got away in chase. The stranger was lost sight of during the night, but steering the same course, Anson came up with her again at daylight on the 12th. She was captured without fighting, proving to be the *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, bound from Callao to Valparaiso with a cargo of sugar and cloth, some

trunks of wrought plate, and over a ton of silver dollars. From this prize Anson learnt of the fate of Pizarro's squadron, and also heard that a Spanish vessel had been stationed off Juan Fernandez to intercept him until January 6th, when, convinced that the English had been destroyed or driven back by the storm off Cape Horn, she returned to Callao. Indeed, so certain were the Spaniards that there were no British in the Pacific that they had removed the embargo on their Pacific trade and once more allowed the galleons to come and go as they chose.

It was good news, and encouraged by this first success and at the prospect of further easy captures, the men showed redoubled energy in completing the ships with water and making all preparations for leaving Juan Fernandez. The small guns from the *Anna* were mounted on board the Spanish prize, the *Gloucester* and *Tryal* were ordered to cruise off Païta and Valparaiso respectively, and on September 19th the *Centurion*, in company with the *Carmelo*, left the island.

On the evening of the 23rd the *Tryal* was fallen in with. She had a prize with her, a large merchantman named the *Arranzazu*, with a cargo of cloth and sugar and £5000 worth of silver. The *Tryal*, however, had sprung her mainmast and had generally become so unseaworthy that the commodore, with no means of repairing her, ordered her destruction, her crew, guns, and stores, being transferred to the *Tryal's* prize, which was duly commissioned as a man-of-war.

The three ships then sailed to the northward to join the *Gloucester* off Valparaiso, and on the way the *Centurion* captured the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, a small merchantman with a mixed cargo and a limited quantity of specie. On November 11th, near Païta, the *Nuestra Senora del Carmin* was also taken, having on board a rich mixed cargo; but which, in the circumstances, was of little value to the captors. From the prisoners, however, Anson

learnt that there was a considerable amount of treasure in the town of Paita, so made up his mind to attack it.

The assault was carried out at night by three boats and fifty-eight men under the command of Lieutenant Brett of the *Centurion*. It was a complete success, for though the alarm was raised before they landed, they reached the shore in safety, and, shouting and yelling at the pitch of their voices, soon possessed themselves of the town square. Terrified at the hubbub and the beating of drums which the seamen had brought ashore with them, the Spaniards thought they were assailed by an army, and after firing one ineffectual volley, quitted the town with all possible speed. Indeed, within a quarter of an hour, with a loss of one man killed and two wounded, Brett was in possession. He proceeded to place sentries guarding the approaches, seized the custom house, and scoured the town for inhabitants in case further precautions might be necessary. But the greater number of people had already fled in their night attire, the governor himself, not the last to seek safety, escaping half naked and leaving behind him in bed his wife, a young woman of seventeen, to whom he had been married three or four days before.

Confining what remained of the inhabitants in one of the churches and using some stout negroes as transport, the happy raiders busied themselves in carrying the treasure from the custom house and other places to the small fort. The sailors, meanwhile, amused themselves by doing a little private looting, and emerged from the houses wearing embroidered jackets and trousers and laced hats over their own clothes. Once started, there was no stopping the entire detachment from imitating the idea, and when masculine attire ran out the unlucky ones perforce had to dress themselves in frilled petticoats and other feminine garments of an unmentionable but intimate nature. The grotesque spectacle of armed seamen

ashore in a hostile country attired in such peculiar dress can be more easily imagined than described.

By daylight the next morning the *Centurion* and her consorts came close inshore, anchoring during the course of the afternoon. The first boat came off laden to the gunwale with dollars and church plate. A body of Spanish horsemen appeared on the hills "sounding their military musick" but doing little else, and reinforcing his parties ashore, Anson calmly continued embarking the treasure and what provisions he could lay his hands upon. On the third day after their arrival, November 15th, the booty was all on board, and the commodore set all his prisoners at liberty and ordered the town to be set on fire to destroy the great quantity of merchandise which could not be found room for. Only the churches were spared. Six merchant vessels had been found in the bay. One, the *Solidad*, was manned as a prize, the others being taken out to sea and scuttled.

Towards midnight, having completed its work, the squadron weighed and stood out of the bay. By the sacking of Païta, the Spaniards estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars, while the wrought plate, coin, jewellery, and private plunder taken on board amounted to a value of about £30,000.

Soon after sailing animosity displayed itself between those men who had landed and secured private booty and those who had remained on board and obtained nothing. Anson settled the matter in characteristic fashion by pooling the private plunder and dividing it between everybody, and by giving his own share to the common fund and ordering the officers to do the same.

Shortly afterwards the *Centurion* fell in with the *Gloucester*, who had captured two prizes. One was a small vessel with a cargo of wine, brandy, olives, and about £7000 in specie, and the second was a large sailing boat, the crew of which said they were

very poor and had nothing on board but cotton. As they were found eating pigeon-pie off silver plate, however, somebody's suspicions were aroused. A further search was made, and concealed amongst the cotton was found a quantity of coin to the value of £12,000.

But the richest prize of all had yet to be taken.

Far away across the Pacific in the Philippines, the Spaniards collected at Manila all those commodities of India, China, and the East which were most desirable in the markets of Spain and Europe. They consisted of spice, calicoes and chintzes, porcelain, filigree, and other worked metal; but silk and silk goods predominated, no less than 50,000 pairs of silk stockings being exported each year to adorn the shapely lower limbs of the Spanish aristocracy. The ship that embarked this valuable collection was a large galleon commanded by a general of Spain. She was well manned and armed, and leaving Manila in July, generally arrived at Acapulco, in Mexico, in the following January.

In March a similar galleon left Acapulco with money, and with the trade wind in her favour generally arrived at Manila in June. Anson had no use for silk stockings and spices. From the nature of her cargo the galleon outward bound from Acapulco was the better prize of the two.

After leaving Paita, Anson proceeded to the island of Quibo, not far from Panama, where he hoped to take more prizes. On his way two of the captured vessels, being very slow, were burnt, and on December 5th the squadron, still consisting of five ships, arrived at its destination. Here they watered and laid in stocks of wood and food, the men being introduced for the first time to turtle, which, so far from being regarded as a luxury, they looked upon with some suspicion. Sailing again on December 9th, the flagship took another small prize which was scuttled and burnt, and by the middle of February the squadron

was lying off Acapulco ready to intercept the galleon due to leave in March. Boats were sent in shore at night to watch the mouth of the harbour ; but a long and weary vigil at length convinced Anson that the Spaniards knew of his presence, and that the sailing of the treasure ship had been delayed.

At length, having been four months at sea since leaving Quibo, and with only six days' water left, the squadron arrived at Chequetan, where they refitted, watered, and provisioned. By this time Anson had made up his mind that further delay was useless, and decided to cross the Pacific and to wait for the galleon on the other side.

In the entire squadron at this time there were barely enough men to form the complement of a fourth-rate man-of-war. The difficult navigation and bad weather to be expected in the China Sea rendered some economy in the available manpower vitally necessary, and the commodore accordingly destroyed all his prizes after removing their valuables, and determined to continue the voyage with the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* alone. After another fruitless visit to Acapulco, all the Spanish prisoners were set free, and on May 6th the two ships lost sight of the mountains of Mexico and steered westward across the Pacific for the Portuguese settlement of Macao, in the Canton River. Here they would meet English ships and a civilised community, and here it was that Anson intended to refit his battered ships preparatory to lying in wait for the treasure galleon off Cape Espiritu Santo, in the Philippines, in the following May and June, 1743.

Standing well to the southward in accordance with the accepted rules of the period, the two ships were becalmed for seven weeks before finally meeting the favouring north-east trade wind. Soon the *Gloucester's* mainmast was discovered to be defective and dangerous, so that it had to be cut away, and once more, in spite of the fresh provisions and copious supplies

of water due to the heavy rains, the terrible scurvy reappeared to play havoc with the ship's companies.

The limit of the trade wind was reached at the end of June, and for a month the ships sailed on to the westward. The crippled *Gloucester*, however, constantly lagged behind, and on July 26th, the wind shifted to the west, right in their teeth, and then fell flat calm. A heavy swell and the consequent rolling occasioned the loss of the *Gloucester's* fore-topmast and foreyard. She was taken in tow. Then arose a violent storm which forced the *Centurion* to lie to, and occasioned a bad leak, so that officers and men had constantly to be at the pumps. But the *Gloucester* was in worse condition. She had been further damaged aloft and was little more than an unmanageable hulk, with seven feet of water in her hold and her sickly crew unable to keep the pumps going. Help could not be sent, for the *Centurion's* own men, what with the continual pumping and the number of the sick, were wellnigh exhausted. The *Gloucester* could not be repaired at sea, and in the circumstances there was no choice but to destroy her. Two days were spent in removing the treasure and all the stores that the *Centurion* could carry, and on August 15th the wreck was abandoned and set on fire, presently to blow up when the flames reached her magazine.

The *Centurion*, leaking and disease-ridden, stood on alone. Of the eight ships which had left England two years before, she was the only survivor.

Arriving on August 26th at the island of Tinian, one of the Ladrone group, they found a small Spanish barque and a party of soldiers engaged in jerking beef for the garrison of Guam, an island not very far away. The barque was promptly annexed, and the Spaniards made prisoners, while the *Centurion's* sick were landed to recuperate. They numbered 128, and no less than 21 died as soon as they were moved.

Tinian was a veritable haven of refuge. It was well wooded, with streams and smooth grassy lawns.

Bread-fruit, oranges, limes, lemons, and coco-nuts grew in abundance, while cattle, hogs, and poultry roamed wild over the countryside. The commodore himself, ill with scurvy, was forced to live in a tent ashore ; but by the middle of September, thanks to the change in diet, the invalids began to recover and gradually returned to duty. Ineffectual attempts were made to stop the leak in the *Centurion's* bows, and the battered ship was refitted to the best of their ability.

The only anchorage was an open bay, and as the time of the equinoctial gales drew near the ship's hempen cables were reinforced with chains and her yards and top-hamper struck. They were necessary precautions ; but in spite of them the worst happened.

On September 22nd a violent gale set in from the eastward. Soon there was a heavy, tumbling sea which broke so fiercely in all directions that no boat could live. One by one the cables parted like pack-thread, and at one o'clock of a black night, a furious gust of wind, accompanied by heavy rain squalls and sheets of lightning, tore the *Centurion* from her last anchor and drove her out to sea. The greater portion of the crew, including the commodore, were ashore. On board the ship there were no more than 108 men, including natives, boys, and men lately recovered from scurvy. The ship was leaking badly and her only remaining anchor still hung from her bows at the end of its cable. Not a gun was lashed, nor a port barred in. Shrouds were loose, topmasts unrigged and yards struck, and not a sail could be set except the mizzen. She was unmanageable, buffeted about this way and that at the mercy of sea and wind.

In the fury of the gale and the flashing of lightning the guns and signal lights fired by the ship were neither seen nor heard by those ashore. The dawn came slowly out of the east, and the anxious watchers on the beach gazed seawards. Nothing met their eyes but league upon league of swelling ocean, the giant

seas breaking and roaring like mountains rolling over mountains. The *Centurion* had vanished. Anson and 113 of his officers and men were alone.

Despondency reigned. Some instantly concluded that the ship was lost; others, believing she might weather the gale, knew how feebly she was manned and despaired of her ever regaining the island. The prospect was certainly a dismal one. The nearest friendly port was Macao, full eighteen hundred miles distant. The chance of their being rescued by a friendly ship was so slender as to be beyond all hope, and not very far away was Guam, the governor of which would presently be sending to find out what had become of his provisioning party. Inevitably, discovering the helpless condition of the castaways, he would send a force to overpower them, and once in Spanish clutches the most favourable treatment they might expect was rigorous imprisonment. At the worst, they might be put to death as pirates, for the commodore's and officers' commissions were still on board the ship.

But Anson himself, though convinced in his heart that the *Centurion* was lost, refused to admit it. She might be back in a few days, he told his men, or else she might be driven so far to leeward in the storm that she would go on to Macao to refit and return for them later.

Carpenters and blacksmiths were ashore with their tools. Wood was to be had in abundance, and calming the men's fears by his composure and steadiness, he put them to work upon the little Spanish barque. It seemed an insane project; but they set about cutting her in halves and lengthening her amidships by twelve feet. This would increase her size from twelve to forty tons, and in her they would sail on to China and comparative civilisation. The tents and some spare cordage left ashore would provide sails and rigging; coco-nuts, with jerked beef and rice from a neighbouring island, would serve them for food,

and a small compass found in the barque and a damaged quadrant discovered in a dead man's chest would do for the navigation. They had muskets ; but no more than ninety charges for them.

On October 26th, a fortnight after the *Centurion* had been driven to sea, the shore party hauled the barque ashore on rollers and proceeded to cut her in two. Working steadily, they fixed upon November 5th as the date of putting to sea ; but on October 11th one of the men who had been on a hill in the middle of the island came rushing down to the landing place shouting, " The ship ! The ship ! "

Their joy can easily be imagined. The men shouted and laughed and leapt in ecstasy. Even the undemonstrative commodore gave way to his feelings by shedding tears of thankfulness. And by the next afternoon the *Centurion* again swung to her anchors in the road.

Those on board had performed a superhuman task. For three days the storm had continued, and expecting every moment to be dashed ashore, they had set up the rigging, swayed their yards across, and managed to spread a little canvas. It was five days before they finally hove up and secured the anchor, their food and water was nearly exhausted ; but, achieving the impossible, they brought the ship back.

Again, on October 14th, the *Centurion* was driven out to sea by a gale, though this time the commodore and the greater number of her men were on board, and she returned in five days.

Finally, on October 21st, having completed with food and water and taking on board a quantity of fruit, the ship left the island for the last time, and shaped course for the China Sea. Passing to the southward of Formosa, she arrived at Macao on November 13th. This port, the Portuguese settlement at the mouth of the Canton River, was frequented by European ships, many of them belonging to the British East India Company, and once more, after

an absence of more than two years, the weary, weather-beaten travellers found themselves among their own countrymen.

It is unnecessary to weary the reader with a detailed account of Anson's protracted negotiations in the Canton River. The Portuguese, existing in Macao only by the permission of the Chinese, and fearful of giving them offence, were not very helpful, and could only advise the commodore to treat direct with the native authorities for what he required in the way of stores, provisions, and means of refitting. The Chinese officials, however, used to dealing only with merchantmen, at first attempted to exact the customary dues and bribes from the *Centurion*, and without them would allow Anson no facilities for repairs and not more than one day's provisions at a time.

After much fruitless talk the commodore decided to go up to Canton to see the Viceroy in person. Permission was refused, whereupon Anson threatened to force a passage with his boats. The Chinese thought better of their refusal, and the commodore proceeded to Canton in his barge, where, prevented from interviewing the Viceroy, he tried to open up negotiations through the British merchants resident there. These also were without avail, and returning to his ship in exasperation he forced the customs officials at Macao, under a threat, to convey a letter direct to the Viceroy, informing that potentate of his rank and status as an emissary of his sovereign and what he required.

The Viceroy presently sent down a mandarin attended by his retinue to see the ship. The *Centurion* was the first regular man-of-war to visit the river, and Anson, judicious as ever but thoroughly determined, politely told the visitor that if he did not receive supplies, which would be well paid for, he might have to take them by force. Overawed by their reception, and the spectacle of one hundred of

the crew dressed in marines' regimentals drawn up on deck under arms, the Chinese were conducted all over the ship, and lavishly entertained in the commodore's cabin. They consumed an incredible quantity of liquor without turning a hair, and departed highly pleased with all they had seen. Anson missed a gold snuff-box and some silver spoons when they had gone ; but at last the native authorities were impressed with the dignity due to the British flag, for after some further delay, the necessary licence was forthcoming for refitting the ship and supplying all her needs.

Methods were dilatory in the extreme, and it was not until April 19th, 1743, that, refitted from truck to keelson, her stores replenished and her water-casks and provision rooms filled, the *Centurion* sailed from the Canton River. It had been noised abroad that she was bound to Batavia and thence to England, and letters for Europe were actually on board. But Anson's real destination was somewhere very different. He was sailing for Cape Espiritu Santo in the Philippines, off which it was hoped to intercept the great treasure galleon from Acapulco.

On May 31st, the *Centurion* arrived off the headland, a point invariably made by the galleon on her passage to Manila, and whence she received signals to inform her whether or not the coasts were clear of the enemy. Knowing that there were sentinels on the cape, the commodore took in his top-gallant sails and stood out to sea, when, with the land just in sight, he began to cruise on and off keeping a good lookout.

There were some on board who did not altogether relish the idea of the coming engagement. The galleons, carrying over 500 men and heavily armed, were reputed to be very strong ships, so strong and heavily built that shot would not penetrate their sides. But Anson harangued his ship's company and allayed their fears. He would fight the enemy within pistol shot, he told them, when his shot would pass

through both sides instead of rebounding. In this manner he judiciously restored the confidence of his men and awakened their enthusiasm, so much so that inquiring one day of his butcher why he had lately seen no mutton at his table, the man replied quite seriously that he was reserving the last two sheep for the entertainment of the Spanish captain the night his ship was taken.

During the period of waiting, the men were not idle. Almost daily they were exercised at the guns in firing at a mark, while the small-arm parties were constantly practised in shooting at a target hung from the yardarm. Choosing thirty of the best marksmen, Anson determined to station them aloft in action to fire down on the enemy's decks, and as there were not enough men on board to provide a full crew for all the heavy guns, he detailed two men to each weapon for loading purposes, and divided the rest into gangs who ran round the decks running out and firing such guns as were loaded. It was the habit of the Spaniards to fall flat on deck when they expected a broadside, and to rise up again after the discharge to continue the fight. By maintaining a constant rippling fire instead of volleys or broadsides, this manœuvre of the enemy would be frustrated and the execution all the greater.

As the days passed the men's expectancy and impatience increased. Eager eyes ever scanned the rim of the horizon to the eastward for the welcome gleam of a sail; but a week, a fortnight, twenty days passed—and still the ocean was bare. Suspense became intolerable.

But at last, at dawn on June 20th, Mr. Midshipman Proby, at the masthead, sighted a sail low down on the horizon to the south-eastward. He hailed the quarter-deck, and instantly the men came tumbling joyfully up from below. The *Centurion* made sail toward her. By half-past seven the galleon was in sight from the deck, and firing a gun in defiance,

furled her top-gallant sails and came slowly on, fully determined to fight.

By noon the two ships were little more than three miles apart. Sundry manœuvres followed and battle flags were hoisted, while the Spaniards busied themselves in throwing overboard their cattle and lumber to free their encumbered decks. Soon afterwards the action began at long range. The *Centurion* rapidly closed her adversary to within pistol shot, and keeping to leeward to prevent any attempt at escape, took up her station on the Spaniard's bow, where almost all the English guns could be brought to bear, but few of the enemy's could reply. Presently some mats stowed in the galleon's nettings were set alight by the *Centurion's* wads and burnt merrily, throwing the enemy into terror and confusion. The *Centurion* also was in some danger, until, considerably to the commodore's relief, the Spaniards cut away the netting and tumbled the whole blazing mass into the sea.

The English guns, meanwhile, were plied with great vigour, while the marksmen aloft kept up a constant fire which killed or wounded practically every Spanish officer in sight. For some time the enemy fought fiercely and bravely; but sweeping their crowded decks with grape, the *Centurion's* fire caused great slaughter, and at last the great flag fluttering at the galleon's masthead came slowly down in token of surrender.

The prize was the *Nuestra Senora de Cavadonga*, a ship larger than the *Centurion* and carrying 500 men. She had 67 killed and 84 wounded in the engagement, while the *Centurion's* loss was no more than 2 killed and 17 wounded, sufficient testimony to the indifferent gunnery of the Spanish. The galleon was a very valuable capture, for she carried a quantity of dollars, wrought plate, and virgin silver to the value, it is said, of £313,121.

The total treasure taken by the *Centurion* during her voyage was little less than half a million sterling,

irrespective of ships and merchandise burnt or destroyed. The whole damage done to Spain was not far short of a million, to which must also be added the cost of fitting out Pizarro's squadron and the losses he incurred.

Little remains to be told. The *Centurion*, with her numerous prisoners safe under hatches and her prize in company, arrived again at Macao on July 11th. We need not enter into a recital of Anson's various transactions there, his difficulty in obtaining what he wanted, his interview with the Viceroy at Canton, and how, true to tradition, the rascally Chinese tradesmen, selling their livestock by weight, enhanced their value by stuffing live fowls and ducks with stones and gravel, and filling the carcasses of pigs with water.

The *Cavadonga* was sold for 6000 dollars, and on December 15th, the *Centurion* set sail for England. On January 3rd, 1744, she anchored in the Straits of Sunda for wood and water, and after staying for five days sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, arriving at Table Bay on March 11th. Here she stayed for over three weeks, putting to sea again on April 3rd.

War had been declared against France, and in a thick fog, unknown to those on board, the *Centurion* ran through a French fleet cruising in the chops of the Channel. She passed through in safety, and on June 15th, to the infinite joy of everybody on board, the battered, weather-beaten but treasure-laden ship came to an anchor at Spithead. As a fitting finale to the cruise, the treasure was landed at Portsmouth, to be paraded in triumph through the city of London in a procession of thirty-two wagons, the ship's company marching beside them with colours flying and bands playing.

The *Centurion's* voyage, perhaps, has not the originality of that of the *Golden Hind* over a century and a half before. Anson may have lacked the fiery dash of Drake and the lovable genius of Nelson ; but

his pluck and indomitable perseverance carried him successfully through in the face of supreme difficulty and danger where many a man would have turned back. Never for a moment did he relinquish the hope of accomplishing his purpose. Through peril and pestilence, through storm and famine, he infused new courage into his men through his own undaunted demeanour and force of character. As an example of fortitude and determination the famous voyage must ever remain without a parallel in the story of the British Navy.

§ 4

THE DISCOVERIES OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

Outside the Mall entrance to the Admiralty buildings in London stands the statue of James Cook, the most famous circumnavigator and explorer that England has ever produced. A valuable collection of his manuscript diaries, logs, and sailing directions were purchased in 1923, and are now in the Australian Commonwealth National Library. Other manuscripts and relics of the great seaman are to be seen in the British Museum, while in the Painted Hall at Greenwich is his portrait in naval uniform painted by Nathaniel Dance, R.A.

James Cook was over six feet in height, spare and rather thin, with fine features, well-set brown eyes with bushy eyebrows, and a determined mouth and chin. His expression, as shown in the Greenwich picture, is austere but not unpleasing ; but the strong face clearly shows the nature of the man—patient, persevering, self-reliant, self-willed, and utterly fearless of danger. Grave and somewhat reserved, Cook was an indefatigable worker, a man impatient of enforced leisure and who never was tired. His fierce energy inspired others, and though, we are told, he was possessed of a hasty temper, beneath it lay a kindly

and human heart. One of his chief preoccupations was ever the welfare and comfort of his crew. He commanded the respect, obedience, and implicit confidence of his subordinates, and, himself brought up to a hard life and inured to labour, shared in his men's discomforts and privations and was capable of enduring the severest hardship without complaint. Of good manners and simple tastes, he had no time to waste in luxurious living. He desired no better food than that served out to the seamen. His only recreation was work.

Born at Marton, Yorkshire, in 1728, Cook was the son of a farm labourer. He received some sort of an education at the village school; but when twelve years old became assistant to a shopkeeper at Staithes, a small fishing village near Whitby. But he soon tired of the life. The sea called him, and at the instance of his employer—though some accounts say he ran away—he became apprenticed for three years to a Whitby shipping firm, presently to find himself on board a vessel engaged in the coal trade up and down the east coast of England. Afterwards he served in ships plying to Norway and the Baltic.

It was a hard life; though undoubtedly the best possible school for producing a practical seaman. And Cook did not neglect his opportunities. In the intervals between voyages he set himself assiduously to work to improve his general knowledge of mathematics and navigation, and that he succeeded, and was, as well, a thorough practical sailor, is evident from the fact that in 1752, at the age of twenty-four, he was mate of the *Friendship*, a great advance for a man of humble parentage. He would soon have had an independent command of his own, and but for the fact that in 1755 trouble was brewing with France and the navy was being placed on a war footing, the services of one of its most eminent navigators, surveyors, and Empire-builders might have been lost to the country.

The popular belief that Cook joined the navy to avoid being "pressed" is contrary to fact. He realised that the navy was short of suitable men, and knowing his own capability, saw a better prospect of advancement in the king's service than as the captain of a humble coaster. Accordingly, in 1755, when his ship was lying in the Thames, he volunteered for H.M.S. *Eagle*, joining that ship as an A.B. at Portsmouth on June 25th. Thirty-seven days later his superior qualifications had earned for him a warrant as master's mate.

It is unnecessary to deal at length with this early portion of Cook's career. He first came to notice between 1758 and 1762, when, as master, or navigating officer, of the *Pembroke* and *Northumberland*, he was employed in charting the St. Lawrence and portions of the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland during the operations against the French. He also perfected his knowledge of astronomical navigation and mathematics generally, and so favourably was he reported upon that, between 1763 and 1767 he was again specially employed surveying and charting the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. So accurate was his work that so lately as twenty years ago his charts were not entirely superseded by the more detailed surveys of modern times.

In December, 1762, he had married Elizabeth Bates, of Barking. The marriage is said to have been a very happy one, though Cook's home life cannot have lasted more than four years in all, and during his subsequent wanderings all over the world his wife must often have been months, and sometimes years, without news of him. The couple lived for a time at Shadwell, afterwards removing to Mile End. The house has since been identified as No. 88 Mile End Road, which now bears a tablet recording the fact.

In 1768 Cook's great opportunity came. At the request of the Royal Society the Admiralty had consented to send out an expedition to the Pacific to

observe the transit of Venus, an event of some astronomical importance. It was at first proposed that a Mr. Dalrymple should be placed in command; but the Admiralty, mindful of a mutiny which had taken place when Dr. Halley had been given the brevet rank of captain and placed in charge of a man-of-war, steadfastly refused to countenance the appointment of a civilian. Searching for some suitable officer, they hit upon Cook, already well known as a surveyor through his excellent work in North America. And on May 25th, 1768, he received a lieutenant's commission and was appointed to the *Endeavour*, a Whitby barque of 368 tons specially bought for the service.

After completing for sea at Deptford, the ship finally sailed from Plymouth on August 26th, having on board ninety-four persons, including a party of scientists, and stores and provisions for eighteen months. Cook's orders were to proceed to Tahiti, which had been discovered and explored a few years before, and, after completing the astronomical work there, to continue the voyage by making discoveries in the South Pacific as far as latitude 40° S. Then, if no land was found, he was to proceed to and explore New Zealand, finally returning to England by any route that he thought fit.

The better to appreciate the importance of Cook's discoveries, it is necessary briefly to mention the work of his predecessors, more particularly in the Pacific.

The discovery of a passage round the north of America into the Pacific, or the "North-West Passage," had long been a favourite British project for the purpose of discovering a shorter route to China and the Far East than the long and tedious journey round the Cape of Good Hope. Among others, the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin in the latter part of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries, though unsuccessful in their main object, all added to our knowledge of the geography of

the ice-bound northern coast of Canada. The subsequent voyages of Ross, Parry, Franklin, and M'Clure in the first half of the nineteenth century, also had a similar object in view, and the North-West Passage, though impracticable for navigation, was actually discovered by Sir John Franklin in 1847-8 during his final expedition in which he and all his brave companions perished.

Drake, as already said, attempted to discover the passage from the Pacific side and failed. Others also tried it, among whom, in 1777-8, as we shall presently see, was James Cook, during his third and last voyage.

In 1586 Cavendish, passing through the Straits of Magellan, sailed north to California and thence to the Ladrões, capturing a rich Spanish galleon on the way. His successful exploit encouraged several emulators, but all their attempts at despoiling the Spaniards failed. The Falkland Islands, however, were visited and explored by Davis and Hawkins in 1592 and 1594, which added to the knowledge of geography.

During the greater part of the seventeenth century the English were too busy at home with their internal troubles and the wars against the Dutch to have much time for sea exploration. It was at the close of this century, however, that the English buccaneers were active—men like Dampier, Morgan, Edward Cooke, Woodes Rogers, who, though all explorers after a fashion, were frankly sea rovers whose primary object was to enrich themselves at the expense of Spain.

Anson, whom we have already dealt with, set out on his expedition at a time when the Pacific could no longer be considered a Spanish lake, even on the authority of the Pope. The same may be said for Byron, Wallis, and Cartaret, 1764-69, who, in expeditions sent out by the Admiralty, passed through the Straits of Magellan and discovered between them the Society Islands—including Tahiti, Pitcairn, Queen Charlotte Islands, New Britain, and New Ireland, and various other outlying groups in the Pacific.

But for centuries there had been a tradition that land of continental proportions existed somewhere in the southern part of the world. Various old charts show a solid belt of land, named "Terra Australis Incognita," stretching well up from the South Pole and covering the whole of the bottom portion of the globe. It was an imaginary continent, and scientific men had proved beyond any doubt that if it did not exist the world would inevitably overbalance and topple over!

The first record of Australia, as we now call it—considered to be part of a far greater southern continent that it really is—is said to have been made by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. In 1606 Torres, a Spaniard, sailed through the strait bearing his name, while between 1618 and 1627 Dutch navigators were exploring the north, west, and south coasts of Australia. In 1642 Tasman, sailing from Batavia, discovered Tasmania and portion of New Zealand, following up his success two years later by exploring more of the Australian coast. In 1665 what we now know as Western Australia was definitely called "New Holland" at the instance of the Dutch Government.

Between 1684 and 1690 William Dampier, the buccaneer, explored the west and north-western coasts. Subsequent voyagers did little to add to the knowledge of the continent itself, though, as we have shown, many of its outlying island groups were discovered and charted.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, therefore, at about the time Cook first set out, the coast of North and South America from Cape Horn to California, many of the Pacific islands, the Celebes, Moluccas, Java, Sumatra, and China were tolerably well known. Farther south, however, a map would show only the western, and part of the northern and southern coasts of Australia, and part of Tasmania. New Zealand would be represented by nothing more than the

small angle of land skirted by Tasman. The east coast of Australia, wholly unexplored and unknown, would not be depicted at all.

Moreover, all the land shown in this quarter of the globe was considered to be part of the immense southern continent "Terra Australis Incognita." It was the mystery of this huge expanse of fabulous and unknown territory that, among other things, was finally solved by the voyages of Captain James Cook.

A mere recital of places visited and results achieved makes dull reading; but Cook's voyages were so extensive and protracted that we cannot dwell upon the many little interesting incidents and happenings which help to transform a bald narrative of fact into a living word picture. Our space is so curtailed that we cannot describe the perils of storm and tempest, the constant danger of shipwreck in uncharted waters, the intercourse with the natives, the details of life on board the ship, and what, generally, may be called the human side of the various expeditions. At the risk of being tedious and unconvincing we are compelled to confine ourselves to the barest summary.

Having touched at Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, the *Endeavour* passed on through the Straits of Le Maire, and, on January 27th, 1769, rounded Cape Horn without damage. Arriving at Tahiti on April 13th, having sighted several islands on the passage, the transit of Venus was successfully observed on June 3rd. Sailing again on July 13th, Cook spent some months in visiting and exploring the other islands of the group of which Tahiti is one, and gave them the name of the Society Islands. The natives, though friendly enough, were "prodigious expert" at thieving.

On October 7th the North Island of New Zealand was sighted by a boy, Nicholas Young, the point seen being named by Cook, "Young Nick's Head," and the youth being rewarded with the prize of a

gallon of rum which had been offered to whoever should first sight land! From this date until March 31st, 1770, the *Endeavour* spent on the coasts of New Zealand, the islands being circumnavigated, and surveyed and charted with a surprising degree of accuracy. Particular attention was paid to Cook Strait, the channel separating the North and South Islands. They had dealings with the Maoris, but found them, on the whole, rather unfriendly and addicted to purloining anything they fancied, including, on one occasion, Cook's sheets, which, in the wash, were trailing overboard from the stern.

Her work in New Zealand done, the *Endeavour* sailed for Australia, the coast of which, near Bass Strait, was sighted on April 19th. Ten days later they arrived at Botany Bay, near Sydney, the name being given by Cook because of the great variety of strange plants found there by the scientists. On reaching the shore in his boat for the first time, tradition says that Cook ordered the midshipman, Isaac Smith, a cousin of his wife's, to jump out. The boy, afterwards an admiral, was thus reputed to be the first Englishman to set foot on the soil of New South Wales, a name given by Cook because he saw some resemblance between its coast and that of the northern shore of the Bristol Channel.

Sailing on to the northward up the coast, Cook explored and examined it for upwards of two thousand miles, discovering and naming many bays, headlands, and islands. It is impossible here to speak of the many thrilling adventures through which the little *Endeavour* passed at this stage of her journey. She was a small vessel of indifferent sailing qualities, working on a virgin coast in waters utterly unknown and uncharted. Constantly she found herself entangled among islands and shoals, or in danger of shipwreck on the sharp coral fangs of the Great Barrier Reef. And if the ship had been lost the plight of the survivors would have been desperate, for they would

have found themselves marooned on a savage, desolate coast far out of the beaten track of civilisation, and with no possible hope of succour unless they could build themselves a ship and sail to Batavia, the nearest civilised port, or sail there in their boats. Once the *Endeavour* actually did run ashore, and for a time, until the leak was stopped by "fothoring" or passing a sail under the bottom, was in imminent peril. For days at a time officers were stationed at the masthead conning the ship through the coral, gazing anxiously ahead for swirls in the water, or the greenish tinge betokening the shallower patches. But Cook's sure judgment and sound seamanship carried her through in safety, and in August, 1770, they passed the north point of Queensland through what are now known as the Endeavour Straits, south of the Torres Straits. It was thus proved beyond all doubt that New Guinea and New Holland (Australia) were separate. Before leaving the coast for the last time, Cook landed and hoisted the English flag, taking possession of the entire coast he had surveyed in the name of his sovereign.

Touching at the islands of Timor and Savu, they arrived on October 10th at Batavia, where they spent some time on a badly needed refit at the hands of the Dutch workmen. "What anxieties we had escaped," says Cook, "in our ignorance that a large portion of the keel had been diminished to the thickness of the under leather of a shoe!"

Though there had been seven deaths during the voyage, none had occurred through scurvy or fever. Within a fortnight of arriving at Batavia, however, many of the ship's company were taken ill with malaria and dysentery, while seven succumbed. Sailing again on December 26th, the ship touched at Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda for water, and then shaped course for her long passage across the Indian Ocean. Dysentery was still prevalent on board, scurvy appeared for the first time, and it was not until February 27th, 1771, that the terrible list of

losses was closed by the deaths of three men, making a total of thirty since arriving at Batavia, or thirty-seven for the entire voyage.

The land near Cape Natal was sighted on March 6th, and on the 15th they came to the Cape of Good Hope. Here Cook stayed for a month refitting and recuperating his invalids. Touching at St. Helena on the way home, the *Lizard* was sighted—again by the boy Nicholas Young—on June 10th, and two days later the gallant little *Endeavour* passing by the white cliffs of Dover, came to an anchor in the Downs.

In his first expedition Cook had given to his country Australia and New Zealand—nothing less. He was rewarded for this eminent service by promotion, at the age of 43, to the rank of commander, which, in modern eyes, seems a surprisingly inadequate tribute to one who had achieved so much. It is probable that the supreme importance of his discoveries was never properly appreciated at the time. Baronetcies and knighthoods were more or less reserved for those naval officers who distinguished themselves in war. Nevertheless, at a time when officers of influential families sometimes reached the rank of post-captain at the age of 21, one is tempted to think that had Cook been the son of a nobleman instead of the child of a simple farm labourer, his reward might have been more in keeping with the valuable service he had rendered to the State. Cook himself, reticent and reserved as usual, is silent on the subject; but if he was never adequately recognised during his lifetime, his fame has certainly passed down to posterity as one of the chief builders or pioneers of the British Empire.

For the first few months after his arrival in England in June, 1771, he was hard at work collecting and putting in order for delivery to the Admiralty the vast collection of journals, notes, observations, sailing directions, and charts compiled during the voyage. Meanwhile the perennial controversy about the great southern continent had broken out afresh, and Cook's

recent discoveries did not in the least disprove its existence. Those who believed in "*Terra Australis Incognita*," and they were many, were not disposed to surrender their pet idea because Cook had not found it. He had not looked for it.

In 1675, La Roche, an Englishman, had fallen in with what is now thought to be South Georgia. In 1738 the French explorer, Bouvet, reported land in latitude 54° south and longitude $11^{\circ} 20'$ east, which he called Cape Circumcision. Both these territories as well as any other additional morsels of land seen by other voyagers driven to the south by bad weather, were invariably supposed to be part of the mainland of the southern continent.

"*Terra Australis Incognita*," indeed, had grown up in men's minds as a sort of Eldorado. It was thought to contain riches greater than those of the Spanish colonies in America, and to be inhabited by a race necessarily hardy because of the severe climate; but highly civilised and acquainted with the arts. "Its longitude," says one well-known writer, "is as much as that of all Europe, Asia Minor, and to the Caspian Sea and Persia, with all the islands of the Mediterranean and Ocean which are in its limits embraced, including England and Ireland. That unknown part is a quarter of the whole globe."

What a prize for the nation who should first find and develop it!

The Earl of Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, took a great interest in the question, and it was largely due to him that it was determined to despatch an expedition to settle the controversy. Cook was naturally selected to command it, and on November 28th, 1771, after only five months ashore, he received his commission and set about making his preparations.

Two ex-merchant vessels of 462 and 336 tons respectively, built at Whitby, were selected, and, on being bought for the Royal Navy, were first named the



NOTE ON MAP OF THE

Map of the world from the Atlas of Abraham Ortelius. It is of great interest because it shows the conception at the time of the Hemisphere and termed by Ortelius *Terra Australis incognita* continent stretching therefrom in both directions. In the These were supposed to give a passage from the Atlantic



ORLD (ORTELIUS).

printed by Plantin at Antwerp in 1581. It is of great Great South Land supposed to exist in the Southern *incognita*. This map shows New Guinea and a great rth of the map the fabled Straits of Anian are shown. he Pacific and were long sought for by seamen.

Drake and *Raleigh*. Soon afterwards they were renamed the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, and both were altered, armed, and fitted as sloops in Deptford dockyard. Many of Cook's old officers and men volunteered for the new expedition, and profiting by the experience of the former voyage, he took every possible precaution against scurvy. Wheat was embarked instead of the customary oatmeal, sugar instead of oil, and malt, sour-kraut, mustard, vinegar, salted cabbage, portable soup,¹ saloup,² marmalade of carrots, rob of lemon and oranges,³ and concentrated juice of wort and beer. Some of these things were already known as anti-scorbutics, while others were tried as an experiment and failed in their effect. Nevertheless, surprising as it may seem, this was the first occasion in the history of navigation in which careful preparations were made for combating the dreadful disease which regularly carried off a considerable proportion of the crews embarked for long voyages.

Cook's orders are too long and too complicated to be quoted in full. Briefly, he was to call at Madeira for a supply of wine, and then to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope to recuperate his men and re-victual. He was then to sail south to search for Bouvet's "Cape Circumcision," supposed to lie some 1200 miles to the southward of the Cape of Good Hope. If found, he was to survey it and to ascertain whether or not it was an island or portion of a continent. If it proved to be a continent, he was to explore it so far as possible, cultivating friendly relations and trade with the inhabitants, if any. He was then to proceed either east or west, keeping as far

¹ A cake of the portable soup which was on board the *Endeavour* is in the museum of the Royal United Service Institution in Whitehall. It looks like a slab of whitish-coloured glue.

² "Saloup." A decoction made from the root of a meadow plant, or from sassafras, used as a beverage before the introduction of tea and coffee.

³ "Rob of lemons and oranges." A species of jelly made from the fresh fruit.

south as possible to continue his discoveries until such time as the health of the crews necessitated a return to a civilised port, whence he was to make the best of his way back to England.

If Cape Circumcision proved to be an island, or if he did not find it, he was to stand on to the southward so long as he thought there was a chance of falling in with the continent. If the latter was not found he was to steer east and to circumnavigate the world, keeping as far to the south as he could, and exploring any islands or land that he fell in with. Having done this, he was to return to the Cape of Good Hope and thence to England. He was given full permission to proceed to the northward at any time to any known place to refit and revictual his ships and recuperate his men, returning to the southward when circumstances allowed it. If the *Resolution* was lost, the voyage was to be continued in the *Adventure*.

On July 13th, 1772, the two ships, after considerable delay due to alterations, finally left Plymouth. Touching at Madeira for fresh food, wine, and water, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on October 30th, where they were afforded every assistance by the Dutch authorities.

Leaving the Cape again on November 22nd, they sailed on to the southward to search for Cape Circumcision, the weather soon becoming bitterly cold and stormy and the men being served out with the fear-nought jackets and trousers provided by the Admiralty. For a week they were blown eastward by a heavy gale in which no canvas could be carried and much water found its way on board, and on December 10th ice was first sighted. For another six weeks they sailed among icebergs and pack-ice, with fog, rain, sleet, and snow. Much of the livestock purchased at the Cape perished in the cold and wet, so that salt provisions had to be served out and scurvy made its appearance among the ship's companies. It was kept under by liberal doses of the various preventatives.

Christmas Day, we are told, was celebrated by the seamen "with savage noise and drunkenness," and though, soon afterwards, the vessels reached a position ninety-five miles south true of the reported position of Cape Circumcision,¹ there were no signs of the great continent of which it was supposed to form a part.

By New Year's Day, 1773, the ships were in latitude 60° south, and seventeen days later crossed the Antarctic Circle. Still there were no signs of land, and soon they found themselves hemmed in by ice, some of which being taken on board and melted, proved excellent for drinking purposes, which allayed Cook's anxiety in regard to fresh water. But the weather was bad, and the ice to the southward impassable. No farther advance could be made without endangering the ships, and Cook was forced to retreat northward before resuming an easterly course. On February 8th the *Adventure* was lost sight of in a severe gale and thick weather. The *Resolution* fired guns and burnt flares to attract her attention; but the ships did not meet again until May 18th, in New Zealand.

Sailing on alone, the *Resolution* steered first northerly, then south-easterly, and then east along the parallel of 60° south. Still no land was sighted, and on March 16th course was altered for New Zealand. The weather, says one of the civilian passengers, was very severe, the ship constantly rolling gunwales under in the heavy sea, masts and sails being damaged or blown away, and rigging so encrusted with ice that it cut the men's hands. The sailors, however, do not seem to have regarded it as unusual. On March 26th, after a run of 3600 leagues, and having been 117 days at sea without a sight of land, the *Resolution* arrived at Dusky Bay,

¹ "Cape Circumcision," it may be here said, is now supposed to have been Bouvet Island, rediscovered in 1898 by the German Deep Sea discovery ship, *Valdivia*. Its position in latitude 54° 26' south, longitude 3° 24' east, which is considerably to the westward of the position given to Cook.

New Zealand. So efficient had been Cook's precautions that there was only one man sick of the scurvy.

After refreshing his men with game, fresh fish, and spruce beer, Cook continued his survey of the coast, arriving at Queen Charlotte's Sound on May 18th, where he found the *Adventure*. She had been there for six weeks, and some of her crew were down with scurvy.

On June 7th the two ships sailed in company for Tahiti, and by the end of July twenty of the *Adventure's* men were suffering from scurvy and one had died. It would seem that sufficient precautions had not been taken to combat the disease, for the *Resolution* herself had only one man afflicted with it. After sighting various islands, they arrived at Tahiti on August 16th, and in coming to an anchor in a light wind and a strong tide, the *Resolution* struck a reef, though luckily without serious damage.

Remaining at beautiful Tahiti for about a fortnight, Cook recuperated his men and met many natives whom he had seen during his previous voyage. Then, sailing again on September 1st, the ships spent some time in cruising among the other islands of the group. At Huahine the *Adventure* ran ashore, but got off without great damage, and here again Cook met many old friends and was supplied with everything he wanted in the way of pigs, fowls, and fruit. The only unpleasant incident that occurred was to one of the botanists, who, roaming in the interior by himself, unwittingly transgressed some native law and was bereft of everything save his nether garments, or, as Sir Walter Besant says, his spectacles!

On November 3rd the *Resolution* again arrived in New Zealand. The *Adventure*, however, lost company during the passage and was seen no more during the voyage. At Queen Charlotte's Sound Cook refitted his ship and overhauled his stores, when about 4000 lbs. of the biscuit was found to be rotten and utterly useless as food, and another 3000 lbs. nearly as bad. It

was as well that they were able to lay in an abundant supply of wild celery, scurvy grass, and vegetables from the seeds planted during their previous visit. Before sailing, some of the officers discovered a party of Maoris eating human flesh. They did not indulge in the practice from shortness of food, but seemed to be in the habit of regaling themselves upon the bodies of enemies slain in battle.

Leaving orders behind in a bottle, in case the *Adventure* came in, Cook sailed again on November 25th for his second voyage southward into the icy, wind-swept wastes of the inhospitable Antarctic.

When clear of the land, the *Resolution* steered to the south-eastward. On December 12th the first ice was sighted. There was constant danger of the ship being wrecked during fog on the numerous bergs and heavy floes; but working south whenever he could, Cook reached, on January 30th, 1774, a position in latitude $71^{\circ} 10'$ south, longitude $106^{\circ} 54'$ west, a record that was not beaten until 1823.

The rigging, encrusted in ice, became so thick when covered with frozen sleet that it could hardly be grasped by the largest hand. Icicles hung from the men's noses, and their bodies were sometimes cased in frozen snow as if in armour. There was little or no scurvy on board; but men suffered from fever brought on by the cold and wet.

To the south, east and west, the sea was covered in an immense sheet of impenetrable ice, mostly flat, but rising here and there in hummocks, sometimes into great hills like mountain ranges. Along the edge of the great barrier there was a mile's width of broken ice, grinding, rising, and falling with the movement of the sea. Farther progress to the south was out of the question, and satisfied in his mind that there was no land within the Antarctic Circle except so far south as to be practically inaccessible, Cook turned to the northward.

There was still plenty of unexplored space in the

great Pacific. It was his intention to fix the position of Juan Fernandez, to visit Easter Island, and then to return to Tahiti, where he hoped to find the *Adventure*. That ship, after parting company with Cook near New Zealand three months before, had been blown off the land by a severe gale which wrought considerable damage to sails and rigging. Compelled to seek shelter for temporary repairs and water, she did not reach Queen Charlotte's Sound until November 30th, six days after Cook had sailed. The bottle containing the orders was found; but the *Adventure* was delayed by having to refit and rebake a large quantity of her biscuit. On December 17th a boat's crew sent ashore for vegetables quarrelled with the natives and were killed to a man, some of them being eaten. Portions of the bodies were found and recognised. It was not until December 23rd that the *Adventure* sailed. She stood to the south-east and thence for Cape Horn, and after passing it crossed the South Atlantic and searched again for Cape Circumcision, but without success. Accordingly she sailed for Table Bay to refit, and departing thence on April 16th, arrived at Spithead on July 14th, 1774.

To revert to the *Resolution*. From February 6th to 12th, 1774, there was heavy weather which wrought great havoc with the sails and running rigging, and not long afterwards Cook himself was severely ill with what he lightly calls "a bilious colic." For a long time, it must be remembered, they had been living upon salt provisions—beef so fibrous, tough, and impregnated with salt as to be loathsome; biscuit little better than mouldy dust. A dog on board was killed and made into soup, and, says Cook, "I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick." Whether or not it was the effect of this fresh meat, cannot be said, but on March 4th, to the great joy of everybody on board, the captain was well again.

Juan Fernandez was searched for in its reported

position but without success, and on March 12th the *Resolution* reached Easter Island, remarkable for its large stone statues, carved by native hands in the dim ages, some of which are to be seen in the British Museum. They obtained a limited amount of fruit and vegetables from the natives ; but the water was bad, and after a stay of four days the ship sailed on to the Marquesas Islands. Here they traded with the natives ; but except for fruit and very small pigs, forty or fifty of which were necessary for one meal for the crew, little fresh food was obtainable. Sailing on again, the ship visited two more islands, and on April 22nd, to the great joy of all on board, she arrived again at Tahiti, where she remained three weeks.

Until October they cruised among the Society and Friendly Islands, making several new discoveries, and, passing on, a month was spent surveying the group now known as the New Hebrides. On September 4th, Cook discovered and named New Caledonia ; Norfolk Island was discovered on October 10th, and on the 18th the *Resolution* arrived again in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand.

Sailing again to the eastward on November 10th, the ship crossed the Pacific between latitudes 54° and 55° south, seeing nothing until December 17th, when she raised the land at the western entrance of the Straits of Magellan. Proceeding southward down the bleak and desolate coast of Tierra del Fuego, they reached Christmas Sound, where they met the miserable, half-starved, evil-smelling natives, and obtained wood, water, wild celery, and sufficient geese to provide all hands with a feast on Christmas Day.

Cape Horn was passed on December 29th, and on New Year's Day, 1775, they visited Staten Island, proceeding again on January 3rd to search for the southern continent. It was not seen ; but South Georgia was discovered, named, and formally taken possession of, though Cook was not of the opinion

that the island, its peaks covered with snow even in the height of the Antarctic summer, would ever benefit any one. He was mistaken, for South Georgia is now the scene of an extensive and profitable whale fishery.

On January 30th the Sandwich Group was discovered and named, and on February 23rd, after another attempt to find Cape Circumcision on the other side of the South Atlantic, course was altered to the north for the Cape of Good Hope. The ship anchored in Table Bay on March 22nd, and after refitting and provisioning turned her bows for home. After touching at St. Helena, Ascension, and Fernando de Noronha, the *Resolution* finally arrived at Spithead on the morning of Sunday, July 30th, 1775. She had lost no more than four men during the entire voyage, three by accident and one only by disease, a most remarkable contrast to the terrible mortality incurred by Anson's unhappy squadron.

Cook's second expedition must always remain one of the most remarkable feats of navigation ever performed. In an absence of three years and sixteen days he had put a complete girdle round the globe on or near the Antarctic Circle. He had crossed the southern ocean in all directions, had skirted the edge of the Antarctic ice until he could force his way no farther south. The question of any inhabitable continent in the extreme south was settled for ever. It did not exist.

Cook was forty-eight years of age, thirty-four of which had been spent at sea. He had achieved more than any living person; had probably done more for geography than any man since Columbus. But, as before, his reward was meagre. He was graciously received by the king and was promoted to post-captain, a step he might well have obtained several years before. He was appointed by the Admiralty to be one of the Captains of Greenwich Hospital, a sinecure which, if he wished it, provided him for life with a

house and an income of £200 a year and allowances. The Royal Society recognised his worth by electing him a Fellow, and, in 1776, by conferring upon him the Copley Gold Medal, awarded annually for the best experimental research of the year, for his paper on the prevention of scurvy read before them.

In every way Cook was a great man, a valuable servant of the state, highly respected in his own country and abroad. But he received no distinction in keeping with his services, not even a simple knighthood.

As already stated, the discovery of a North-West Passage with a view to shortening the route to the Far East had long been a matter of interest to British navigators. In the middle of the eighteenth century the subject was revived, and an Act of Parliament had been passed offering £20,000 to any ship which should discover it. Many failures to find it from the Atlantic turned men's thoughts to the Pacific, and Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, consented to send an expedition with a view to finding the passage from that ocean.

It is said that in February, 1776, Cook was dining with Lord Sandwich when the conversation turned upon the proposed expedition and who was best fitted to command it, possibly with a view to inviting Cook to volunteer. The snug retreat at Greenwich Hospital, which, apparently, he had not yet taken up, was by no means to the liking of a man full of a restless energy, and fired with his old enthusiasm for exploration, Cook instantly offered his services, which were accepted.

The *Resolution* was again chosen for the voyage, her consort being the *Discovery*, a Whitby-built vessel of about 300 tons. Cook received his commission in February, and the next month his old ship was hauled out of dock to complete for sea, many of those who had served in the previous voyages again coming forward as volunteers. An extra supply of warm

clothing was taken on board for the men, together with articles of "trade" for bartering with the natives. a bull, two cows and their calves, together with some sheep, were also embarked as presents from King George to the natives of Tahiti.

Cook's orders were simple. He was to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and then to look for some islands discovered by a French navigator well south of Mauritius. Thence he was to proceed to New Zealand, and afterwards to Tahiti. Leaving there about February, he was to sail across the Pacific to the coast of Drake's "New Albion," in North America, and, sailing northward, was to explore any inlets or rivers that seemed likely to lead to communication with the Atlantic. For the winter he was to retire to a Russian port in Kamtschatka, or other suitable place, and the following spring was to resume his search for the North-West Passage.

Sailing from Plymouth on July 12th, the *Resolution*, touching at Teneriffe, arrived at the Cape on October 18th. The next month she was joined by the *Discovery*, which had been delayed in England, and on November 30th, having refitted, watered, stored and embarked so many animals that the *Resolution* resembled a Noah's Ark, the two ships sailed to the eastward.

The weather soon became cold and stormy, so that spars were carried away and some of the animals perished; but on December 12th they sighted the islands previously discovered by the Frenchmen, Marion du Fresne and Crozet, some years before. Cook called them Prince Edward's and Marion's Islands, and gave the name of Crozet Islands to another group farther east. Desolate Kerguelen was reached on Christmas Eve, and here they spent six days watering and surveying. During the run eastward they had considerable fog and bad weather; but on January 26th, 1777, put into Adventure Bay, Tasmania, to obtain a new spar in place of a broken top-gallant mast. It was still thought that Tasmania

—or Van Diemen's Land—was part of Australia, and no attempt was made to disprove it.

Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand, was next visited for a fortnight, and until the end of the year the two ships cruised among the islands in the Southern Pacific, making many new discoveries; the natives, though thievish, being generally friendly. They visited their beloved Tahiti, and by the end of August, considerably to his satisfaction, Cook got rid of the last of his livestock—horses, cows, sheep, a turkey, cock and hen, a gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks, not omitting a peacock and a peahen, which he had brought out for stocking the islands. How this menagerie was found room for in the confined space on the deck of a small ship, and how they were kept alive on passage, it is impossible to imagine.

On December 23rd the two ships crossed the Equator, sailing northward, and on the 25th discovered a low island, which they named Christmas Island, and whence they obtained a quantity of fish and turtle. The Sandwich Islands—named after the First Lord of the Admiralty—were next found, and here they had no difficulty in getting water, together with pigs and other provisions. March 7th, 1778, saw the shore of North America, near Vancouver Island, in sight, and passing on up the coast surveying and exploring, they were soon off the Alaskan shore. The various journals mention the predatory instincts of the wretched natives, the extreme cold, the hunger, the bad food, and how they killed walrus and ate the rank flesh, which, "disgustful as it was," still was better than the abominable salt beef out of the casks. One and all, except Cook, bitterly lamented their departure from fair Tahiti, with its abundance of fresh food, its pretty girls, and its fine climate.

The summer was spent in searching for the North-West Passage, and by August 18th, having passed through the Behring Straits, the two ships were well within the Arctic Circle, and had reached their most

northern latitude, $77^{\circ} 44'$. No farther advance was possible, for from east to west, as far as they could see, the sea was covered by an unbroken sheet of ice standing six feet above the water.

Turning back, Cook cruised for some time on the Siberian and Alaskan coasts and among the islands. Here he met Russian traders, who showed him their charts, and to one of them Cook entrusted a letter and chart to be forwarded via Siberia and St. Petersburg to the Admiralty. After their long journey overland they were duly delivered in London the following year.

During the voyage in the Northern Pacific no less than twelve hundred leagues of coast were examined and the sea crossed in many directions. The main object of the expedition failed, as it was prevented by the ice; but no previous navigator had carried out such extensive and accurate surveys in this remote corner of the world.

On October 26th the two ships sailed southward, and a month later discovered Maui, another island of the Sandwich Group. Here Cook procured a quantity of sugar-cane and ordered it to be used for brewing a sort of beer, both palatable and wholesome, intending it to be used instead of spirits with a view to conserving the latter for use in colder climates. But the men would have none of it. As Cook says, "Every innovation whatever, tho' ever so much to their advantage, is sure to meet with the highest disapprobation from seamen." The eighteenth century sailor, not unlike his twentieth century brother, was suspiciously conservative in his likes and dislikes.

On the last day of November, they came to the larger and more important island of Hawaii, which Cook spent some time in exploring and surveying, and on January 17th, 1779, anchored in Karakakooa Bay.

The place was crowded with natives, many of them coming off in canoes laden with provisions and the

sea being alive with hundreds of others who swam round the ships like shoals of fish. The vessels soon became so crowded that the men could scarcely find room to work ; but the visitors, though very friendly, were adepts at thieving—stealing, among other things, the rudder off a boat, the lids of the coppers in the *Resolution's* galley, and cutting the *Discovery's* standing rigging for the sake of the iron. Ashore Cook was treated with honour as a great chief, being given the title of “Orono” after uncouth native ceremonies in which figured idols and a much decomposed pig. He also exchanged visits with King Terreeoboo, the king presenting Cook with valuable feather cloaks and quantities of provisions, and Cook, in turn, investing the king with a linen shirt and sword. As time went on, however, inquiries began to be made as to when the ships were going to leave, hints being given that provisions were running short.

The *Resolution* and *Discovery* left on February 4th to seek a better anchorage, the king presenting quantities of vegetables and a herd of pigs before they sailed. Soon afterwards they ran into a succession of heavy gales, in the course of which sails were split and the *Resolution's* foremast so badly sprung that it was necessary to unstep it for immediate repair. This could not be done at sea, and in the circumstances there was no alternative but to return to Karakakooa Bay, which was reached on February 11th.

Their reception, however, was very different to that on their first arrival. Not a canoe came off. The natives seemed shy and diffident, and by no means satisfied when it was explained to them why the ships had come back. And looking at it from their point of view, one can well understand it. They had got rid of most of their superfluous provisions during the first visit, and when the vessels returned they saw themselves confronted with demands for further supplies, which, without going short themselves, they could not easily provide.

However, the mast was got ashore for repairs, and everything went well until the afternoon of the 13th, when trouble was caused by natives interfering with a watering party. They began, also, to arm themselves with stones, and became noisy and truculent. Then a pair of carpenter's tongs were stolen from the *Discovery*, the thief being captured, flogged, and put in irons until they were returned. Other thefts took place, and some canoes with stolen property on board were chased by two ship's boats, the crews of which were stoned and roughly handled by the natives on reaching the shore.

The next morning the *Discovery's* six-oared cutter was missing from her moorings. It was more than Cook could stand. He determined to teach the natives a lesson, and providing himself with a shot-gun, he landed with a party of armed marines to take some of the chiefs as hostages until the boat was returned. Ship's boats were also sent to prevent any canoes from leaving the bay.

With his marines Cook proceeded to the village, where he saw the king; but, naturally enough, could not persuade him to come on board. The use of force would only have ended in bloodshed, for a large and threatening crowd was present. Very soon came news that an important chief had been killed by one of the boats on the other side of the bay. Matters now became serious, for the natives instantly began donning their war-mats, while Cook himself was threatened by an excited man with a stone in one hand and an iron spike in the other. He was told to be quiet, but only became more furious, and in exasperation Cook fired a charge of small shot into him, the mats, however, saving him from injury. Stones began to fly, and the marines were attacked, and Cook, firing his second barrel loaded with ball, killed a native. Instantly the place was in an uproar, and the stone-throwing increased, whereupon the marines fired a volley. Before they could reload they were charged by the

natives, four out of the seven being killed and all the remainder, including the officer, being wounded.

Retreating to the water's edge followed by a mob of natives, Cook unwisely turned his back to them to order the boats' crews to cease firing and pull inshore. The moment he did so he was clubbed from behind, and staggering forward fell on his hand and knee and dropped his musket. Before he could recover his feet he was stabbed in the back of the neck, and falling forward into the water, a crowd of natives fell upon him and tried to keep him under.

A boat was not more than five or six yards distant, but in the confused mêlée and the excitement, nobody seems to have been able to do anything to save their leader, for Cook, bleeding and half-drowned, but still struggling fiercely, was clubbed again. His dead body was then hauled ashore by the natives, who snatched the daggers from each other's hands and plunged them again and again into the corpse.

Portions of the body, which had been burnt and dismembered, were subsequently recovered from the natives, and, at sunset on February 21st, with the booming of minute guns and the colours at half-mast, were reverently committed to the deep.

It is unnecessary here to describe the rest of the voyage to Kamtschatka and their ineffectual attempts to discover the North-West Passage, before, in October 1779, they started homewards by way of Japan, Macao, the Straits of Sunda, and the Cape of Good Hope. The *Resolution* and *Adventure* finally arrived in England on October 4th, 1780, having been absent four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

Thus, in a petty quarrel terminating in a fight, in the midst of a brilliant career, perished James Cook, one of the greatest navigators of any age.

No other seaman has ever so enlarged our knowledge of the world. In eleven years he explored New Zealand and proved it to consist of two islands, and surveyed the east coast of Australia for two thousand

miles and proved it had no connection with New Guinea. He discovered the Society Islands and the Sandwich Islands—explored New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, not to mention numerous other islands scattered throughout the Pacific. He crossed the Antarctic Ocean from end to end, and proved conclusively that no habitable continent existed to the southward. Far south in the Atlantic he found South Georgia and the Sandwich Group, and in the Northern Pacific explored over three thousand five hundred miles of coast and penetrated to the Arctic Sea in search of the North-West Passage.

A chart of the world with the tracks of Cook's successive voyages marked upon it in red lies open before us as we write. North, south, east, and west the red lines run, crossing and re-crossing in all directions, sometimes so interlaced as to be scarcely comprehensible. From Cape Horn they pass right round the world and back again, with here and there a V-shaped indentation, showing a dash towards the South Pole. From England they pass to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence across the Indian Ocean to the Straits of Sunda and New Zealand. In the Pacific they are especially thick, from Easter Island to New Caledonia—from Polynesia away up through the Behring Straits and into the Arctic Ocean.

Cook's record is truly wonderful. Compared with his achievements, the voyages of other British navigators fade into insignificance. Of our famous seamen he was the greatest Empire builder of them all. We may well be proud of his undying memory.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARTERED COMPANIES AS PIONEERS OF THE EMPIRE

THE part taken by the various trading companies and chartered corporations in the development of the British Empire is so important that it may almost be said that the history of the overseas expansion of England during Tudor and Stuart times is mainly concerned with the operations of these bodies formed for the extension of commerce in the foreign and unknown parts of the world. Much is made, of course, of the enterprise of individual pioneers and adventurers who carried with them the seeds of English civilisation and planted them in the fruitful soil of new lands; but these men, whether seamen, traders, or settlers, were usually supported by some great trading corporation founded for the express purpose of bringing profit to its members. Individual enterprise was not unknown. It flourished, indeed, in opposition to the early chartered companies, and many of the voyages of discovery were undertaken on behalf of bodies of enterprising merchants who would subscribe sums of money for fitting out the vessels and sending them to unknown parts. But after these adventurous merchants had proved the possibility of opening a profitable trade, they endeavoured to secure the grant of a monopoly, so as to exclude others, who had not so strong a claim as themselves, from the fruits of their individual enterprise.

It is not possible here to sketch even in outline the history or scope of the great trading associations which did so much to establish English commerce in the New World. Each had a different origin. Many

had privileges distinct from those of the others. They came and went—notably those connected with the African trade—almost as frequently as do companies of the present day, and although some secured a permanent footing and initiated enormous developments over vast stretches of territory, and undertook administrative duties as well as trading enterprises, the majority were concerned only with the extension of English commerce.

The earlier trading companies of England were of what may be termed the “regulated” kind. It was only at a later period that the joint-stock companies, in which the individual traders were merged in the corporation and shared in the common profit and loss, became firmly established and almost completely ousted the older associations. The earliest companies consisted of bodies of men banded together for the purpose of trade and mutual protection. Every merchant upon paying certain fees and submitting to the rules and by-laws of the company, traded with his own capital, at his own risk, and without reference to the company in its corporate capacity. In this way arose the local societies of merchant adventurers, which were eventually loosely banded together in a large corporation which attempted to secure a practical monopoly of the English overseas trade, although there were never wanting daring individual traders and other corporations to dispute these privileges. In 1407 they received their first known charter, though they had had many earlier privileges, and in the words of Mrs. A. S. Green, they “now proposed to enter the decent ranks of recognised associations, and exchange their roving ways for the more formal aggressions of a chartered company.”

With this beginning of the chartered companies commenced the extension of English enterprise overseas and, although the grand age of maritime discovery had not begun, the century that intervened between Henry the Fourth’s charter and the formation of what

was subsequently known as the Russia or Muscovy Company was not unfruitful in the extension of English commerce. The Russia Company, which did so much in the discovery of the North-West Passage and the opening of Hudson Bay and the Canadian Arctic, took its origin in the association known as the "Merchant Adventurers of England for the discovery of lands and territories unknown," which obtained its charter in 1555, when Sebastian Cabot was made Governor and a board of directors was established, consisting of four consuls and twenty-four assistants chosen from the "most sad, discreet, and honest of the said fellowship." The name of Cabot reminds us of those pioneering adventurers who established the British Empire in America, and although it is only possible to mention some of the great companies or monopolies with which many of these are associated, it cannot be too strongly emphasised how much the constitutions of the various American colonies of the Old Empire owed to the chartered companies under which many of them were founded. In Virginia a chartered company, appealing to its members on both patriotic and financial grounds, undertook the pioneering work of settlement, and for some years governed the infant colony; and in New England the Massachusetts Bay Company obtained a regular charter from Charles I. and planted its Puritan settlers in the New World—Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, and even the island of Providence in the West Indies. All these ventures left their permanent impression on the plastic material of our political institutions and established the supremacy of England in the North American Continent.

So far, however, as the present chapter is concerned, we are only interested in three great American adventures—the foundation of the Newfoundland Company, to which the present dominion largely owes its being, the unsuccessful adventure of Sir William Alexander, and the formation of the great monopoly

known as the Hudson's Bay Company, the only one of the three that still exists as a company. The first of these activities was due to the enterprise of John Guy, a Bristol merchant, who in 1610 formed a Company of Adventurers of London and Bristol, of which the great Bacon, whose interest in colonisation is well known and who may be regarded as a great pioneer of Empire, although only from the arm-chair, and the Earl of Northampton, were members. John Guy, who was endeavouring to put into practical execution Sir Humphrey Gilbert's ill-fated plans of settlement, took out a party of colonists in the year 1610 and thus founded our premier colony. His great predecessor Gilbert, whose name lives in history while that of Guy is almost forgotten—a strange example of the survival of the unsuccessful and the almost complete oblivion of the more successful man—had made a first venture in 1578 to “annoy the King of Spain by fitting out a fleet of ships of war under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and so fall upon the enemies' ships and destroy his trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies, and possess the country.” But his enterprise was not successful. When five years later he had fitted out another expedition of two hundred and fifty men, accompanied by “hobby horses and morris dancers and many like conceits to win the savage people by all fair means possible,” the expedition was again unsuccessful, and Gilbert, in the *Squirrel*, of ten tons only, to which he had transferred from the *Golden Hind*, was cast away and drowned. But the disastrous first English experiment in colonisation had the effect of spurring others to new enterprises, and when Lord Bacon had declared that the Newfoundland fisheries were more valuable than all the mines of Peru, support for the venture was not lacking. John Guy's Company maintained a precarious existence for eighteen years, and although Newfoundland remained an English colony the company itself ceased to exist.

The subsequent attempts of Sir William Alexander to establish the first British settlement within the bounds of the present Dominion of Canada are chiefly of historical interest. Ever since it was stated of its founder by a witty contemporary that "he was born a poet and aimed to be a king," and of its patron that "he was born a king and aimed to be a poet," the scheme initiated by Alexander has suffered from the unmerited ridicule of historians who have been wont to measure its importance by the failure which attended its execution.¹ But the first settlement of Nova Scotia cannot be dismissed from the pages of history in a few sparkling epigrams, for not only does it afford one of the most interesting examples of colonisation, but it had a lasting effect upon the history of Canada, and, at least, established the name of Scotland in the New World.

The capture of Quebec by three brilliant adventurers named Kirke² in 1629, three months after a treaty had been signed which put an end to the then war between France and England, marks an important event in the long contest between France and England in North America.³ Alexander, who, eight years earlier, had proposed to King James the establishment of a Scottish settlement in Acadia, now seized his opportunity, and the charter granted on September 10, 1621, duly ratified by the Scottish Parliament at a later date, and extended by subsequent charters granted by Charles I., gave to Alexander and his heirs an immense tract of territory in America, extending from the eastern coasts to the Gulf of California—territory which was certainly neither known nor

¹ *The Nova Scotia Baronets*, by Evans Lewin, in *United Empire*, Vol. vi., pp. 49-55, 137-40, 224-8. 1915.

² Sir David Kirke, with his two brothers, Sir Lewis Kirke and Thomas Kirke, was given command of an expedition against the French in Canada in 1627.

³ Quebec was not returned to France until 1632, when, under the terms of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Charles I., fearful of losing half of the dowry of his queen, agreed to surrender the conquests of his subjects in North America.

owned by Charles. These were, however, the spacious days of colonisation, and the truly royal gift of Charles and his father was attached to the kingdom of Scotland, as it was Alexander's intention that the new country should be settled by men from north of the Tweed.

The history of Sir William Alexander's adventure is of great interest, but it cannot be told here. Numerous attempts were made to effect a permanent settlement, and Alexander's son was personally engaged in the practical work of establishing the colonists and thus earned the title of one of our pioneers. But unfortunately these colonists and their protector were but pawns in the mightier game of European politics. When Charles I. abandoned his former protégés, Alexander was obliged to recall the disconsolate colonists, and he was subsequently rewarded with the empty title of Earl of Stirling and Viscount Canada. He continued, however, to exercise the prerogatives of sovereignty, creating baronets of Nova Scotia and granting them lands in his American "possessions" until his death in 1640. "This extraordinary man," states Mr. Wyatt Tilby,¹ "was one of the most able and energetic Scots of his age—a statesman whose schemes, had they been as successful in execution as they were great in conception, would have won him immortal renown."

The third of our American adventures was due in no small measure to the enterprise or treachery of two Frenchmen, Pierre Esprit de Radisson and Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, and to the support accorded to them by the versatile Prince Rupert and his needy cousin King Charles II. The pioneering voyages of Henry Hudson, who, through a "great and whurling sea," entered Hudson Bay in his ship the *Discovery* in 1610, and perished in James Bay—the man who braved the perils of the Arctic waters, whose crew witnessed the marvels of the deep, and whose name is commemorated in a

¹ *English People Overseas*, Vol. iii.

great strait, a great sea, and a great trading company, and of numerous other adventurers, such as Captain Thomas Button and William Baffin, had pointed the way into the heart of a new continent by a route that would enable English traders to establish themselves in the rear of the French at Quebec and Montreal. Charles II., with a keen eye to business, recognised that an unexplored field for commerce existed along the western littoral of Hudson Bay, and after the trading voyage of 1668 had landed its colonists at the mouth of the Rupert River and had thus commenced the first permanent settlement of English people in the Dominion of Canada, there was no difficulty in founding a great chartered company to carry on the work. Accordingly on May 2, 1670, the "Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay and the lands drained by the rivers flowing into the Bay," was established by Royal Charter, and the Hudson's Bay Company started its great career.

Much of the early success of the company was due doubtless to the fact that men of great political influence, such as the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), Prince Rupert, and John Churchill, were connected with it. It is impossible to over-emphasise the great part it played in the trading development of Western Canada until its monopoly of the fur trade caused it to stand in the way of agricultural settlement. It established forts and trading posts throughout the country, and the names of the pioneers who served under its control are graven deeply on the tablets of Canadian history. The company, however, did comparatively little to foster actual exploration in the interior, and one of the charges brought against it in 1749, when its affairs were inquired into by a Parliamentary Committee, was that it was neglecting its obvious duty of exploring and opening the country under its charge. Anthony Hendry was the first Englishman who really pushed far into the interior,

in 1745-6, and from that time onwards numerous explorers, either employed by the company or under its auspices, journeyed westwards, until Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who bears one of the greatest names in the history of Canadian discovery, finally crossed the Rockies and gazed upon the Pacific Ocean.

Only one other great Canadian pioneer need be mentioned here—Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, the pioneer of western immigration. Like a greater man—Cecil Rhodes—Selkirk may be said to have thought, if not in continents, at least in provinces, and to have placed his hand as firmly upon the map of Western Canada as did the great Africander upon the map of Southern Africa. Like Rhodes he was regarded by many of his contemporaries as somewhat of an adventurer—with this difference, that whereas Rhodes was the embodiment of successful and aspiring democracy, Selkirk was looked upon as the personification of unsuccessful and expiring aristocracy. "His intentions," writes an author in the *Quarterly Review* in 1816, "were no doubt benevolent and humane; but an impulse was supposed to be given to them by the ruling passion of reviving in North America that species of feudal system which was finally extinguished in North Britain about seventy years since. His lordship was thought to be ambitious of becoming the founder of numerous families. For such expansive views an island was too confined a sphere; but the neighbouring continent had all the requisites that could possibly be wished—an indefinite extent of territory, abounding in woods and plains, and extensive lakes, and navigable rivers; with a soil capable of affording subsistence for millions." Like Rhodes, he had the supreme merit of forcing a wedge athwart the path of ambitious rivals. Rhodes drove his wedge from south to north and garnered territories in the land of eternal mysteries. Selkirk placed his barrier across the way of the fur-traders, and created an agricultural province where his opponents

would have had naught but peltries. But Rhodes fortunately lived to see many of his cherished schemes accomplished, while Selkirk died ere his infant colony had successfully overcome its preliminary trials and long before Western Canada had ripened into a golden cornfield. A few miserable bushels of grain were all that the harassed settlers garnered before Selkirk himself was gathered in the greater harvest.

In planting his colonists in the Red River Settlement, and placing his agricultural colony in the midst of the fur traders, Selkirk introduced a new element among the roving population of the west which was destined to change the course of Canadian history; and he deserves to be recorded among the greatest of our empire-builders, for out of the seeds then planted in the central prairies have grown the great western provinces of Canada which are to-day the principal granary of the British Empire. The movement for settlement, slow as it was, could not have been long delayed, but to this dogged and venturesome Scottish nobleman, who stemmed the tide of reactionary privilege and by his own personal endeavour laid the foundation of a great and flourishing community, is due the fact that the monopoly of the fur-trading corporations, especially the Hudson's Bay Company, was finally swept away by the incoming colonists and pioneers who have made Western Canada what it is to-day.

In a short account of the pioneers of the chartered companies and their opponents it is impossible to mention more than a few outstanding figures. We shall therefore now turn to Africa, where numerous companies had been operating before the three great companies of the present era—the British South Africa Company, the Royal Niger Company, and the Imperial British East Africa Company—became active. In another chapter we have dealt with some of the pioneers of West Africa, and it is only necessary here to state that the African companies belong to the same

period of history that produced the East India Company, and that although they were not so successful, and indeed frequently failed in their efforts, the same process of changing private into national possessions was followed with two parallel results—on the one hand British West Africa as it is to-day, and on the other our Indian Empire.

The royal interest in these companies was manifested from the beginning. An indenture still exists to testify that Queen Elizabeth, in or about the year 1560, rigged, victualled, and lent two ships for the African trade in return for one-third of the profits. From that time onward numerous charters were issued in support of these ventures. In 1618 there was founded what was called the Governor and Company of Adventurers of London, trading into the parts of Africa, which, although unsuccessful as a trading venture, was practically refounded in 1631, its activities being limited only by Cape Blanco in the north and the Cape of Good Hope in the south. No great success, however, attended its efforts, but after the Restoration the royal interest was again aroused, and two further patents were granted in 1660 and 1662. The Royal African Company, with the Duke of York as Governor, began its operations with a capital of £111,000, took over the remaining possessions of the former company, James Fort, Cape Coast Castle, and Sierra Leone, and was for a time successful. It remained in existence, under various forms, until it was finally dissolved in 1820, when its records were handed to the Crown, after the State for a considerable period had been obliged to subsidise its efforts.

After the dissolution of the last African Company nothing was done in the way of chartered companies until the scramble for African territory led to the occupation of new and unknown countries, and it was felt that the State, as such, had done sufficient to extend its liabilities on African soil. The story of

the British South Africa Company has been told on so many occasions, and the part played by Cecil Rhodes is so well known that it is only requisite to state that it grew out of the Rudd-Rhodes syndicate which had obtained a concession from Lobengula, the King of the Matabele, and was engaged in opening the vast country now known as Rhodesia. The names of Alfred Beit, C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and F. R. (Matabele) Thompson, are closely associated with these pioneering efforts in Rhodesia, but the dominating and commanding genius was, of course, Cecil Rhodes, who was so fortunate in having as his friend and chief executive officer Dr. L. Starr Jameson. In November, 1888, the British South Africa Company was incorporated by charter, and to the initiative and enterprise of the company are due the present great territory stretching from the Limpopo to the Belgian Congo. The company secured the various concessions which had been granted to the adventurous, established its administration, and remained both as a trading corporation and administrative body until Southern Rhodesia was established as a self-governing community, and Northern Rhodesia was taken under the direct control of the Crown. The Chartered Company, as it was popularly termed, was the instrument forged by Rhodes for the accomplishment of his life's work, and its success has been due to the driving-force of the men trained in the Rhodesian school and sympathising with the aims of its founder.

In West Africa a somewhat similar process was taking place. There the Royal Niger Company grew out of the United Africa Company (afterwards the National Africa Company) which had been established as a trading concern by Sir George Taubman Goldie in 1879. It secured administrative privileges in 1886, and only ceased as an administrative body on January 1, 1900. In East Africa a similar but quicker process led to the establishment of the Imperial British East Africa Company, chartered in 1888 to work the

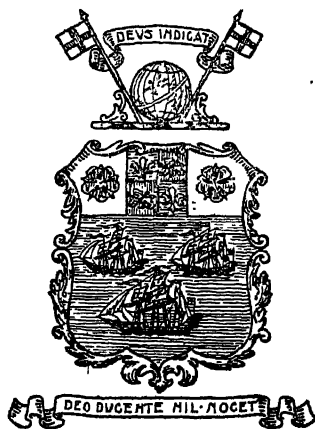
impending concessions from the Sultan of Zanzibar. This body ceased its administrative functions as early as 1894, when the supreme authority of the Crown was established.

Of the East India Company and its pioneers, it is also unnecessary to speak, except to indicate briefly the main features of its existence. It may be considered almost as an offshoot of the old Levant Company, which had sought to open up a trade with Persia and India before Lancaster and his men had succeeded in reaching the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope. It was incorporated on December 31, 1600, and received a monopoly of the trade to Asia, Africa, and America, and parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Straits of Magellan. From the first it had entered into the preserves of other nations, and its history is a long record of conflicts with Portuguese, Dutch, and French, who were also endeavouring to maintain their position in the East.

The trade of the East India Company, unlike that of the African companies, was extremely profitable, and although its privileges were invaded by the power that had granted them, notably when James I. granted a licence to Sir Edward Michelborne in 1604 to trade to Cathay and Charles I., in 1637, granted a similar permission to Sir William Courten to trade to Goa, Malabar, and China, it managed eventually to secure a practical monopoly of the East India trade, and in the United Kingdom to obtain great influence in the House of Commons by reason of the numerous seats it could command. It was not until 1833 that its trading operations were finally wound up, and not until November 1, 1858, that its administrative duties were transferred to the Crown, when Lord Canning proclaimed at Allahabad that Queen Victoria had assumed the sovereignty of India. In the meantime, however, the company had conquered India for the British Empire, and its pioneers, traders, and great administrators, whose names stand out on the pages

of British history, had played their part in the fashioning of British prestige in the East. Clive, Warren Hastings, and a score of other servants of John Company and of their country, will be remembered so long as the British Empire endures.

One other body—the British North Borneo Company—which still exists as a trading and administrative body, remains to be mentioned. This was formed in 1882 when the concessions obtained by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alfred Dent were transferred to a new company to which was granted the administration of the State of British North Borneo. It arose out of the Labuan Trading Company which was established at Sandakan in 1872 and had occupied an irresponsible position as a mandatory of the Sultan of Brunei, from whom it had received a large grant of land. This position was regularised by the British Government when it granted a charter to the British North Borneo Association in 1881. The British North Borneo Company is the only chartered body now existing in the British Empire which still exercises full rights of administration under the British Crown.



Arms of East India Coy.
Granted 1601.

CHAPTER IV

THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF AMERICA

FOR English-speaking youth the romance of ocean adventure opens with the voyages of Drake and Frobisher and Raleigh, and all the glorious beginnings of the British naval tradition. In truth, however, the English were late-comers into the great and hazardous enterprise of exploring the unknown. As has already been pointed out, the name of Portugal is writ large in the annals of maritime discovery during the fifteenth century, and even the following century had run the greater part of its course before England wrested from Spain the supremacy which Portugal had yielded to her in its earlier years. One voyage, indeed, which belongs to the epic period when European minds were first adjusting themselves to the notion of a new continent, was begun from an English port and was financed by an English king; but the Cabots who accomplished it were themselves foreigners and had learnt their seamanship in the Mediterranean school. It is, however, to the lasting credit of King Henry VII. that he first considered the possibility of establishing settlers in lands when others had merely thought of gathering fabulous wealth of gold and jewels. He was a shrewd, practical man; he had to reorganise a country thrown into confusion by a generation of civil war; and he thought of emigration as a solution of his unemployment problem. In the charter which he granted the Cabots in 1502 he gave the first tentative expression to an idea which, in various forms of most unequal merit, has largely dominated English colonial policy ever since.

But Henry VII. was a full hundred years before his

time. The settlement of America could not be undertaken until many lessons had been learnt and many mistakes corrected. For it is among the most notable ironies of history that the discovery and exploration of the American continent was the result of a delusion. The men who sailed out into the Atlantic were bound for India. The land which they reached was at first called New India, and its inhabitants are known as Indians to this day. A second delusion was borne of the first. Legendary tales of India's wealth had gripped men's minds and it was assumed that the New India must teem with gold. The discovery of the Western World was thus the surprising consequence of voyages undertaken in the hope of reaching the East, and the fact that a majority of the English-speaking peoples now dwell on the farther side of the Atlantic is the still more surprising consequence of the belief that wealth beyond the dreams of avarice could be brought home again after a few weeks' search.

The practical genius of the English enabled them to triumph over the geographical and economic errors which had prompted their first efforts. But even when the nature and opportunities of the new world had been rightly apprehended, something more was needed before the business of permanent colonisation could be taken in hand. That something was sea-power. A settlement in the desolate wilderness which had been optimistically named New England was out of the question unless the settlers were assured at the start of regular supplies from home, and such assurance was impossible so long as the English were no more than audacious interlopers in waters which Spain claimed as her own. This vital certainty of communications was, however, guaranteed by the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and in the generation which followed that turning point in the world's history England slowly came to realise her destiny as mistress of the seas.

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Again her initial errors proved her salvation. Permanent settlement, even when made possible by sea power, demanded money, and money was forthcoming because of the expectation that the wealth of India would yield dividends. By about 1550 it was realised that a voyage to India was too difficult and hazardous an enterprise for an individual to undertake, and associations of Merchant Adventurers, the first British trading companies, were formed to provide the equipment and share the risks. These companies, one of whose descendants still plays a great part in the development of Africa, at first operated on the projected overland route and, in fact, established the first commercial relations between England and Russia. It was only gradually that they were won over to a sense of the value of the alternative route by sea westwards, and still more gradually that they came to regard settlements in America as economically sound. Their historical importance is, nevertheless, enormous. But for them the earlier English colonies, both in Virginia and in New England, would have failed to take root. Modern research, with its insistence on the significance of economic factors in history, has begun to do them justice, but even the modern student is sometimes moved to impatience as he examines their records. Beyond doubt these London directors were often hopelessly ignorant of transatlantic conditions, and were almost always too eager to touch their dividends. Even so, however, the companies did more than supply capital. They bought a hard, practical, efficient business sense to bear on the problems of colonial development, and thereby were able to recruit their emigrants from a class not naturally greedy of adventure.

This last consideration is the most noteworthy but also the most subtle of all. As the sixteenth century swings over into the seventeenth century a change seems to overtake the temperament of the English people. It loses imagination but gains in depth; it

becomes less adventurous but more spiritual; it neglects culture but pursues knowledge. The truth is that, under the security of the Tudor despotism, a social revolution had taken place in England, and with the accession of the Stuarts, the middle classes began to assert an authority in English life which has not been seriously challenged until now. But the first assertion was curiously tentative. The new spirit felt that it lacked scope in the old England, and preferred to give itself room overseas. Hence it is that the dramatic episodes in English history upon which the curtain is rung up with apparent suddenness in 1640 really have as their prologue the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers and the earlier expeditions by which that voyage was itself inspired.

Even before the close of Elizabeth's reign business and adventure had begun to enter into partnership. A voyage across the ocean was realised to have a very different aim from the discovery of gold and diamonds waiting to be picked up on some as yet unvisited further shore. There was trade to be done, and the queen herself, who never lacked financial shrewdness, was prepared to play a profitable share in starting it. She would grant a monopoly to a company or association in return for a substantial holding in shares. Her policy was viewed askance by Parliament, became, indeed, so unpopular that with her usual good sense she abandoned it before the end of her reign; but the first mutterings of hostile criticism had hardly been heard when she granted her celebrated patent to Raleigh's half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Gilbert was empowered to plant a settlement overseas on territory not yet in the possession of any Christian prince, and in return for his monopoly was to hand over to his sovereign one-fifth of the precious metals which he discovered. The patent ran for six years, and the voyage which has made his name immortal was Gilbert's last and somewhat desperate effort to turn his privilege to account before its term had

expired. Time pressed, and in his hurry he made mistakes which led to disaster.

The story of Gilbert's voyage, which will be read as long as the English language endures, was given to the world, a few years after its fatal conclusion, in a book which deserves to be called epoch-making. When Gilbert got his patent, a studious young man named Richard Hakluyt had just taken his degree at Oxford. He was of a home-keeping disposition and the arch-deaconry of Westminster, the limit of his eventual attainment, no doubt satisfied his ambitions. But he had a scholar's passion for geography. He realised that the map of the world was being re-drawn on an enlarged scale under his eyes, and like Henry VII. before him, but very much more clearly, he perceived that discovery involved settlement. He was an enthusiast for colonisation and had an accurate idea of what it implied. The would-be emigrant was advised in language such as the world had probably not heard since the Delphic oracle directed the Greek migrations of the seventh century, B.C., to choose a site "where you may possess always sweet water, wood, sea-coals or turf, with fish, flesh, grains, roots, and herbs."

But Hakluyt was not content to have clear notions himself. He proposed to infect his countrymen with his own enthusiasm and to that end set himself to collect and publish the available evidence. The result was his *Principal Navigations*, published in 1589, a book which at once became popular and which exercised an influence soon to be made apparent by facts. In his book Hakluyt included the narrative—a glorious example of Elizabethan prose—obtained from Edward Hayes, owner and master of the *Golden Hind*, the one ship of Gilbert's fleet which returned home.

The expedition sailed in 1583 in five ships: "We were in number in all about 260 men, among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, and such like, requisite

to such an action ; also mineral men and refiners. Besides, for solace of our people and allurements of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety ; not omitting the least toys, as morris dancers, hobby horse, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashery wares to barter with these simple people."

Hayes's language makes it clear that a rough and ready attempt was made to select individuals suited to the requirements of a trading and mining colony, but his devotion to Gilbert's memory may have led him to colour the picture too brightly. At any rate the company included a good sprinkling of mere adventurers, not all of them reputable, and the crew of one vessel was not above engaging in a little piracy. Hayes's own principal motive, which is stated in language that inspires conviction, was the conversion of the savages to Christianity, and his religious fervour was not a mere excuse for anti-Spanish feeling, since the terms of Gilbert's patent practically forbade a brush with Spain. Before many years had elapsed the religious impulse to oversea settlement was to assert itself in a different form and with renewed vigour.

After some hesitation, Gilbert made for Newfoundland, and put into St. John's, where he found the harbour full of foreign shipping. When he made his purpose known, he was cordially welcomed and assisted with supplies, especially by the Portuguese. A landing was effected, and the territory annexed, but the members of the party were in no mood to settle down to the prosaic business of house-building. The expedition re-embarked to seek for gold, but the best ship in the little fleet ran aground and was lost, the men got out of hand and clamoured to be taken home, and Gilbert finally resolved to return to England and to come out again in the following spring.

All went well until after leaving the Azores. "I will now hasten," writes Hayes, as he approaches his climax, "to the end of this tragedy which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate¹ which was overcharged upon their decks with freights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

"But when he was entreated by the captain, master, and other his well-wishers of the *Hind* not to venture in the frigate this was his answer: 'I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.'

"By that time we had brought the islands of Azores south of us yet we then keeping much to the North until we had got into the height and elevation of England, we met with very foul weather and terrible seas breaking shot on high pyramid-wise. . . . Men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea, never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our main-yard an apparition of a little fire by night which seamen do call Castor and Pollux. But we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms.

"Monday, the ninth of September in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, but at that time recovered, and giving full signs of joy, the General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind* (so oft as we did approach within hearing): 'We are as near to heaven by sea as by land.' Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

¹ This was a 10-ton vessel named the *Squirrel*.

"The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof, as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried the General was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up by the sea."¹

Such was the type of experience which the directors of the Virginia Company had to guide them when they laid their plans in 1606. They projected a permanent settlement and were prepared to give it some support from home in its earlier stages. They no longer hoped for mountains of gold, but they expected the colony to exploit the local resources with a minimum of delay. Disappointed in this regard, they were reluctant to send out the supplies of men and material demanded, and it was not until 1610 that they can be said to have adequately recognised their responsibilities. In the interval the settlers were twice on the verge of abandoning their territory. The danger was averted by the resolution and practical wisdom of one man. Since it was he who first proved that a permanent colony could be established across the Atlantic, he may be hailed as the real founder of the British Empire overseas. His name, appropriately enough, was John Smith. The son of a Lincolnshire farmer, he threw off family discipline while in his teens, and went a-soldiering in Europe, first in Flanders against the French, and then on the Hungarian frontier against the Turk. In the course of his fantastic experiences he slew the Turkish champion in single combat, was taken prisoner, was sold as a slave in Constantinople, escaped across the Black Sea, and made his way back through Russia to the Army Headquarters in Leipsic. He next took to seafaring, and after further adventures in the Mediterranean, joined the expedition which sailed for Jamestown in 1607. There he remained for

¹ Edward Hayes in Hakluyt III., 184.

over two years until an accident sent him home to recuperate. Though he recrossed the Atlantic and explored the country which he named New England, he never returned to Jamestown, the hazards of a sailor's life attracting him more. In 1615 he was taken prisoner off the Azores by a French pirate and whiled away the time of his captivity by writing his *Description of New England*. Published in the following year, this work came into the hands of the Pilgrim Fathers, whose plans it did much to shape. Under the guise of a descriptive narrative, the book put up an enthusiastic plea for well-directed emigration. "My purpose," declared the author, "is not to persuade children from their parents, men from their wives, nor servants from their masters; only such as with free consent may be spared. But that each parish or village in city or country that will but apparel their fatherless children of thirteen or fourteen years of age, or young married people that have small wealth to live on, here by their labour may live exceeding well, provided always that first there be a sufficient power to command them, houses to receive them, means to defend them and meet provisions for them . . . and sufficient masters (as carpenters, masons, fishers, fowlers, gardeners, husbandmen, sawyers, smiths, spinsters, tailors, weavers, and such like) to take ten, twelve, or twenty, or as there is occasion for apprentices." ¹

The rest of Smith's life was mainly devoted to similar propaganda based on experience, work of the utmost value because of its insistence on the vital point that a colony must be prepared to live at first mainly by agriculture and cottage industry, and to give time for the gradual development of an export trade. He died in 1630 at the early age of fifty-one, worn out by his adventures. ²

¹ From the *Description of New England*, Vol. i., p. 215 in Arber and Bradley's edition of Smith's writings.

² Smith's boastful style has caused his accuracy to be challenged. But research has justified him. Even his story that he was rescued

The colonists sent out by the Virginia Company left England at the beginning of 1607. On their arrival they selected a site well suited for defence, and, setting a much-used precedent, called their settlement Jamestown, after the king. So soon as the place was adequately fortified, an exploration party was sent some fifty or sixty miles up the river, "the people in all places kindly entreating us, dancing and feasting us with strawberries, mulberries, bread, fish, and other of their country provisions, whereof we had plenty, for which Captain Newport kindly requited their least favours with bells, pins, needles, beads, and glasses." But by June difficulties had arisen with the Indians, and there was friction in Jamestown itself. "For the President and Captain Goswold with the rest of the Council being for the most part discontented with one another, in so much that things were neither carried out with that discretion nor any business effected in such good sort as wisdom would nor our own good and safety required, whereby and through the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the Council being diversely affected through his audacious command, and for Captain Martin, albeit very honest and wishing the best good, yet so sick and weak; and myself (Smith) so disgraced through others' malice, through which disorder God (being angry with us) plagued us with such famine and sickness that the living were scarce able to bury the dead and want of sufficient and good victuals with continual watching, four or five each night at three bulwarks, being the chief cause; only of sturgeon we had great store, whereon our men would so greedily surfeit it cost many their lives; the sack, aqua vitæ, and other preservatives for our health being kept only in the President's hands for his own diet and his few associates. Shortly after it pleased God (in our from death by the Indian Princess Pocahontas, who claimed him as her own, seems justified by our knowledge of Indian customs. Smith's suppression of this episode in his narrative of 1608 was doubtless due to his regard for the feelings of his directors.

extremity) to move the Indians to bring us corn ere it was half ripe to refresh us when we rather expected they would destroy us.

"About the tenth of September there was about forty-six of our men dead, at which time Captain Wingfield having ordered the affairs in such sort that he was generally hated of all in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidency and Captain Ratcliff, according to his course, was elected.

"Our provisions being now within twenty days spent the Indians brought us great store both of corn and bread ready made; also there came such abundance of fowls into the river as greatly refreshed our weak estates, whereupon many of our men were presently able to go abroad.

"As yet we had no houses to cover us, our tents were rotten and our cabins worse than nought; our best commodity was iron which we made into little chisels." ¹

The passage—a good example of Smith's loose, forcible style—presents a grim picture of ignorance, inefficiency, and lack of foresight. The colonists pulled through their first year by the goodwill of the Indians with whom Smith persistently sought to establish satisfactory relations. But prospects improved with the spring, when a new supply was expected from home. It came, and proved thoroughly unsatisfactory. The company had sent out men of the wrong type—there were even gold-diggers among them—and failing to realise that Virginia was little better than a wilderness, clamoured for immediate and substantial results. Smith, whom his fellow-colonists had now chosen as their President, remonstrated in what he himself described as a "rude answer." "I followed the new-begun works," he wrote, "of pitch and tar, glass, soap-ashes, and clap-board whereof some small quantities we have sent you. But if you rightly consider what an infinite

¹ Smith's *True Relation* (1608).

toil it is in Russia and Swede-land, where the woods are proper for nought else and though there be the help both of man and beast in those ancient commonwealths, which many an hundred years have used it ; yet thousands of these poor people can scarce get necessaries to live but from hand to mouth. And though your factors there can buy as much in a week as will freight you a ship, or as much as you please ; you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable souls that are scarce able to get wherewith to live and defend ourselves against the inconstant savages, finding but here and there a tree fit for the purpose and want all things else the Russians have. When you send again I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, than a thousand such as we have ; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything." ¹

Unfortunately, the company had sent out ex-convicts or "proper gentlemen," and a contemporary hand has recorded how Smith handled two of the latter. They had come out expecting to find gold after exciting adventures with the Indians, and instead were taught how to fell trees. But "all these things were carried so pleasantly as within a week they became masters, making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so oft blistered their tender fingers that commonly every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo, for remedy of which sin the President (Smith) devised how to have every man's oaths numbered, and at night for every oath to have a can of water poured down his sleeve with which every offender was so washed (himself and all) that a man could scarce hear an oath in a week."

¹ Smith's *General History*, Book III.

The episode, with its glimpse of Smith's bluff, efficient way, is worth pages of superlatives. There is no doubt that but for Smith the colony would have been abandoned, and his fellow settlers recognised him as their saviour. The town-clerk of Jamestown summed up his qualities as a leader of pioneers when he wrote of him that "in all his proceedings he made justice his first guide and experience his second" Even more impressive is the tribute paid him by another colonist, T. Studley, in a letter written during the critical days of 1608. "The new President Martin being little beloved, of weak judgment in dangers and less industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captain Smith, who, by his own example, good words, and fair promises, set some to mow, others to bind thatch; some to build houses, others to thatch them, himself always braving the greatest task for his own share; so that in short time he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himself."¹

Small wonder that the colonists' hearts failed them after their leading spirit had returned to England. In 1610 they decided to abandon Jamestown. But Smith's tongue had not been idle in London. As the disheartened settlers were sailing down the river they met a new and well-found supply commanded by Lord De La Warr; and under him and his able successor, Sir Thomas Dale, the infant colony was nursed through its troubles and brought to prosperity.

Thirteen years rich in experience of colonial requirements lay between the first settlement in Virginia and the first settlement in New England. Posterity, aware of the tremendous social and spiritual consequences which followed the landing on Plymouth Rock, had somewhat neglected John Smith in favour of the more austere personalities of the Pilgrim Fathers. The puritan emigrants themselves, however,

¹ Characteristically Smith included these and other testimonials in his *General History*.

were well aware of their debt to the soldier of fortune, and were at the utmost pains to avoid the troubles which had all but ruined Jamestown, the more so as they proposed to attempt the hazard of taking their wives and families with them. It was of the essence of their plan that they should be adequately supported from home. To this end they borrowed money under somewhat onerous conditions from a London merchant and formed a connection with the Plymouth Company in England which was maintained for seven years after their arrival. Yet in spite of their care they were so far at the mercy of accident and particularly of the weather that they found themselves exposed to the very perils they had hoped to avoid. In the first place they had intended to sail in two vessels, but their smaller ship, the *Speedwell*, proved unseaworthy and had to be left behind. In the second place they had intended that the *Mayflower* should return to England after landing her passengers, but bad weather caused their voyage to last over three months, with the consequence that the season was too far advanced for the *Mayflower* to sail home again. She remained until the following April, and the unexpected presence of her sailors throughout the winter played havoc with the emigrants' calculations as to food, and still more as to drink. In the third place storms had driven them north of their intended course, and when on November 11th they arrived off Cape Cod they found themselves outside the limits named in their patent. By way of regularising their position and in harmony with the thought of their time, they made a social contract and formed themselves "into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation." Evidently they were resolved to run no risk of that lack of duly constituted authority under which Jamestown had suffered.

Their next step was to launch their shallop to explore the coast and find a suitable place of settlement. It was foul, wintry weather, and the natives

were hostile, but they coasted along in search of "a place that their pilot (one Mr. Coppin, who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbour which he had been in and they might fetch it before night." The weather worsened; high seas broke first their rudder and then their mast; and when they drew near the harbour "the pilot was deceived in the place and said the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the master mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. . . . And though it was very dark and rained sore yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island." The next day being the Sabbath, they rested, and "on Monday they sounded the harbour and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found diverse cornfields and little running brooks, a place, as they supposed, fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

"On the 15th of December they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered and came within two leagues of it but were fain to bear up again; but the 16th day the wind came fair and they arrived safely in the harbour. And afterwards took better view of the place and resolved where to fetch their dwelling, and on the 25th day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." ¹

¹ Bradford, chap. x.

The two chief authorities for the Pilgrim Fathers are Bradford's *History*, which, though not published until much later, clearly embodies his diary, and Mourt's *New England in America*, published in 1622, which incorporates the diaries of two pilgrims, one of whom was Bradford.

Three days later, "in the afternoon we went out to measure the grounds. And first we took notice how many families there were; willing all single men that had no wives to join some family as they thought fit that so we might build fewer houses. Which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots: to every person half a pole in breadth and three in length. Which was done and staked out." ¹

Thus before the end of the year the emigrants were definitely committed to a settlement in New England instead of in Virginia. The reason for their hasty decision was that supplies and particularly beer, were running short. "We could not now take time for further search and consideration," says Mourt, "our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 20th of December." And again: "Christmas day we began to drink water aboard. But at night the master caused us to have some beer. And so on board we had divers times, now and then, some beer; but on shore none at all."

Other troubles besides shortage of drink harassed the party on shore. Sickness, the inevitable consequence of bad sanitation and unsuitable food, took a heavy toll of the little community. "In two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases . . . that of a hundred odd persons scarce fifty remained." ² Amid these disasters the want of beer was acutely felt. "This calamity," writes Bradford, "fell among the passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted ashore and made to drink water that the seamen might have the more beer, and one (Bradford himself) in his sickness desiring but a small can of beer, it was answered that if he were their own father he should have none." Presently, however, disease

¹ Mourt.

² Mourt.

broke out on shipboard too, and the conscience-stricken captain then promised the Governor beer for those who wanted it even if he himself had to drink water on his voyage home. The captain's kindness eased the emigrants' condition, which was further improved by the arrival of two friendly Indians who could speak broken English. One of these natives taught the settlers the local method of planting Indian corn, and a summer crop thus assured them, they watched the *Mayflower* leave in April in the well-grounded hope that they could hold out until further supplies reached them from England.

In the decade which followed the landing at Plymouth Rock, the political sky in England grew steadily darker and the example of the Pilgrim Fathers led many to seek a transatlantic refuge from intolerable conditions at home. By 1630 the movement had resulted in the foundation of Massachusetts, and, still gathering strength, of Boston. By this time the good government of a mass of inexperienced settlers presented a difficult problem, and when Boston was colonised, the Massachusetts Company decided that authority must be transferred from London and placed in the hands of a man on the spot. For its first Governor, the company chose John Winthrop, who remained in power, and for the most part in office, for the next twenty years. The new policy was thoroughly popular, and when Winthrop sailed from England about 2000 emigrants sailed with him. He was thus confronted with heavier political responsibilities than had yet been faced in the new world, and his manner of discharging them has by no means escaped criticism. He was a moody, introspective man, just according to his lights and with a strong sense of social order. On the other hand, he had very positive notions of life and conduct, and his strictness and solemnity, accentuated by his increasing narrowness of mind in his new, very limited environment, have somewhat disagreeably impressed English

students. By American writers on the other hand, he is eulogised as having stamped its quality on the American nation. Their point of view is well summed up in the report which recommended the erection of his statue in the Capitol at Washington : " His mind more than any other arranged the social state of Massachusetts ; Massachusetts moulded the society of New England." He has left us his own memorial in the shape of his diary which he published under the title of *The History of New England*.

Its records show that the period of experiment and danger is definitely passed and that a vigorous, established colonial life is in being from the outset. The change in tone from the Pilgrims' records of only ten years earlier is most remarkable.

For example, " The house of John Page of Watertown was burnt by carrying a few coals from one house to another ; a coal fell by the way and kindled in the leaves. . . .

" There came from Virginia into Salem a pinnace of 18 tons, laden with corn and tobacco. She was bound to the north and put in there by foul weather. She sold her corn at ten shillings the bushel. . . .

" At the last court a young fellow was whipped for soliciting an Indian squaw to incontinency. Her husband and she complained of the wrong, and were present at the execution and very well satisfied. At the same court one Henry Linne was whipped and banished for writing letters into England full of slander against our Government and orders of our churches. . . .

" The Governor and assistants called before them at Boston divers of Watertown ; the pastor and elders by letter and the others by warrant. The occasion was for that a warrant being sent to Watertown for levying of £8, part of a rate of £60, ordered for the fortifying of the new town, the pastor and elders, etc., assembled the people and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort,

for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage. Being come before the Governor and council, after much debate, they acknowledged their fault. . . .

"At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and after a long fight the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation: 'That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here and dispossess him of his kingdom.'"

The Puritans crossed the Atlantic in order to be free to worship God after their own fashion. But within their territory they would not permit Him to be worshipped after any other fashion, so that men of different faiths who desired to emulate their example were compelled to found new colonies of their own. Accordingly in 1634 a colony was established as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. It owed its origin to the first Lord Baltimore, a royal favourite and Secretary of State to James I., who had withdrawn from public life on his conversion to Rome. Lord Baltimore died soon after he had obtained his patent, and the actual foundation of his intended colony was carried out by his son. The next settlement was called Maryland, nominally in compliment to Charles I.'s queen, and was founded by some 300 carefully picked Catholics, all agriculturists or craftsmen. The significant fact about its early history is that it has none. There is no tale of almost miraculous survival amid encompassing dangers. The site was properly selected, the pioneers were suitably equipped for their work, and within a year the new colony was exporting corn to New England. A crowd of fresh emigrants were attracted to a region in which a good living could so easily be won, and within five years of its foundation Maryland was framing a code of laws to govern its

mixed population. Eventually the newcomers overwhelmed the original settlers, and ignoring the purpose of the colony, enacted anti-Catholic legislation. It was becoming apparent that the destinies of the New World could not be shaped in London.

Similar failure attended the attempt to earmark a stretch of American territory for another minority, the Friends or Quakers. As early as 1636 Providence, Rhode Island, was founded by a Quaker secession from Puritanism, but the main effort at Quaker settlement was made nearly half a century later, and is associated with the immortal name of William Penn. Historians have quarrelled over Penn as they have over Winthrop, and Macaulay in particular has covered him with the opprobrium which he not infrequently bestowed on those who did not share his own political and religious prejudices. In truth Penn was a puzzling character. Of good birth, with the tastes and accomplishments of an English gentleman, he was also a religious mystic, ready enough to fight and suffer for his beliefs. The spirit within him first stirred during his Oxford days, and he was sent down for listening to Quaker discourses. His father, a practically-minded admiral, sent him to the Paris of Louis XIV. by way of ridding him of his fantasies. But the fantasies persisted, and after his return to England he took to writing and was frequently imprisoned for offences under the Conventicles Act. Convinced at last that his efforts to improve the legal position of Quakers in England could not succeed, his mind reverted to "the holy experiment of planting a religious democracy in the New World," which he had planned at Oxford. Charles II., who concealed a good deal of religious fervour under his easy-going cynicism, was favourably disposed, and in 1680 gave him a charter to found a colony which should permit the practice of any religion provided only that it was monotheistic and compatible with Christian morality. To the scene of the experiment the king himself gave

the name Pennsylvania. In 1680 Penn set about his work, and the mystic in him entered into an excellent working partnership with the social reformer. The headquarters of his colony, which he established on a carefully chosen site and named Philadelphia, were to take the form of a "green country town." The streets were all planned to intersect at right angles and every house was given a garden. The constitution of the colony, like its topographical plan, was devised according to the most enlightened principles. Nothing less was to be expected of the man or indeed of the time, for to the later seventeenth century America had become Utopia instead of Eldorado, and Carolina, which also dates from Charles II., was given a constitution, which proved unworkable, elaborated by the greatest thinker of the age, John Locke. Unfortunately Penn took his political theory rather from Hobbes than from Locke. His charter made him proprietor of his colony, as Lord Baltimore had been of Maryland before him. As proprietor Penn was not responsible to the Crown for his actions, and though he was prepared to legislate through the local assembly, he held himself in reserve as a benevolent guiding providence. But Englishmen of that epoch had developed a very shrewd appreciation of liberty, and Penn found that his colonists held him in personal honour but in political suspicion. His dissatisfaction with their treatment of him led him to return home in 1684 and to interest himself in the turbulent politics of James II.'s reign. There can be no reasonable doubt that his conduct, like his motive, was entirely honourable. He believed in toleration, was anxious to secure it for the Quakers, and could legitimately sympathise with persecuted Catholics. He thus entered into friendly relations with the king, a circumstance which told against him in the eyes of the men who made the Revolution and of their apologists among historians. To unprejudiced minds his reputation is cleared of blemish by the mere fact

that the Government of William III. investigated his conduct amid the credulous atmosphere of the time and was satisfied that it was blameless.

Towards the close of the century, Penn returned to his colony and showed that for all his idealism he was impotent against the power of local conditions. He was fully alive to the viciousness of slavery as an institution and laboured to mitigate its practical evils; but for all that he kept slaves himself. A slave-ridden state, however, was no place for William Penn, and after two years he returned home to struggle throughout his old age with the financial confusion in which his affairs had become involved.

Penn was a vigorous controversialist, and his writings are the more illuminating because he was by temperament hostile to many of the ideas of his age, but was too honest to state them unfairly. The quotation which follows is taken from a pamphlet entitled, *The Benefit of Plantations and Colonies*, written about 1700. It is a piece of propaganda of interest because it reveals the existence of a current of opinion hostile to emigration in principle. John Smith had encountered similar hostility nearly a hundred years earlier, but enthusiasm for colonisation developed apace during the century's second and third decades. There had now come a reaction against which Penn protested. A similar reaction has asserted itself nowadays, so that the essence of Penn's contention is modern. But its tone belongs to a vanished world. He accepts as axiomatic the position that the colonial trade should be so controlled by the Council of Trade and Plantations in London as to give the mother country all the advantages of a monopoly and it is upon this position that his whole argument rests.

"I deny," he writes, "the vulgar opinion against plantations that they weaken England; they have manifestly enriched and so strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus:—

"First, those that go into a foreign plantation,

their industry there is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to those of this country. . . .

"Secondly, more being produced and imported than we can spend here, we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings in money, or the growth of those countries, which is the same thing; and this is the advantage of the English merchants and seamen.

"Thirdly, such as could not only not marry here but hardly live and allow themselves clothes, do marry there and bestow thrice more in necessities and conveniences (and not a little in ornamental things too) for themselves, their wives and children, both as to apparel and household stuff; which coming out of England, I say 'tis impossible that England should not be a considerable gainer.

"Fourthly, but let it be considered that the plantations employ many hundreds of shipping and many thousands of seamen; which must be in divers respects an advantage to England, being an island and by nature fitted for navigation above any country in Europe. But 'tis further said they injure England in that they draw away too many of the people; for we are not so populous in the countries as formerly. I say there are other reasons for this:—

"First, country people are so extremely addicted to put their children into gentlemen's service or send them to towns to learn trades, that husbandry is neglected; and after a soft and delicate usage there they are for ever unfitted for the labour of a farming life.

"Secondly, the pride of the age in its attendance and retinue is so gross and universal that where a man of a thousand pounds a year formerly kept but four or five servants, he now keeps twice the number. . . . This hinders the plough and the dairy from whence they are taken and instead of keeping people to manly labour they are effeminated by a lazy and luxurious living. . . ."

The conditions indicated in this pamphlet remained unchanged up to the War of Independence. Trade continued on monopolistic lines, and emigration was too much frowned upon to be officially encouraged. One new colony, Georgia, was indeed established during the eighteenth century, but this was an exception which proved the rule. It originated out of a fine humanitarian impulse. General Oglethorpe was horrified by the harshness of the English prison system and launched a scheme to better the cruel lot of imprisoned debtors by giving them a fresh start overseas. In obedience to the traditions of colonisation, he also offered an asylum to persecuted Protestants from the Continent. The project enlisted the warmest philanthropic sympathies of the time, and John and Charles Wesley crossed the Atlantic to evangelise the colony. But the forces of environment were too strong for them and for Oglethorpe. Georgia lay in the slave-belt, and speedily became a slave state indistinguishable in character from its older neighbours. The time was, in fact, gone by when the development of the American colonies admitted of guidance from the old world. Georgia was founded in 1732; a generation later the colonies had embarked on that dispute with the mother country which was to lead to the repudiation of their allegiance.



Arms of
New Brunswick. Manitoba. Saskatchewan.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN SETTLERS IN REVOLT

FROM the standpoint of the constitutional lawyer the struggle which convulsed English society during the seventeenth century was a struggle for supremacy between legislature and executive. Fifty years of conflict and experiment led at last to a final solution of the most drastic character. The supremacy of the legislature was established beyond dispute by the fact that the succession to the Crown, which in those days was the executive authority in fact as well as in name, was itself regulated by Act of Parliament. Ruling as he did by virtue of legislative sanction, the sovereign was naturally led to submit his executive conduct to the control of the authority to which he owed his position, and by a process which, though aided by a series of accidents, was in fact inevitable, the executive power passed from his own hands into those of agents completely responsible to Parliament. Only once after 1689 did an English king seek to turn back the current of events. His attempt was made possible by a political apathy which invited corruption, and once the legislature was aroused to what was toward, it reasserted its sovereign position in Britain without any constitutional upheaval.

In America, on the contrary, the same attempt led to a different result. There the issue of the seventeenth century was raised again with all the old acuteness. Again an appeal was made to the sword, and in the end the problem was not solved but was recognised as insoluble, the tie being snapped which bound the legislatures in the colonies to the executive in England. The contrast between the two simultaneous

reactions is so complete that they are usually studied separately, but only when their ultimate connection is grasped, only when it is realised that the rebellion of the American colonists against George III. was constitutionally parallel with the rebellion of the Parliament against Charles I., does it become possible to set the War of Independence in its proper historical perspective, and to determine its significance in the development of the constitutional ideas upon which the Empire of George V. is established.

If, however, the War of Independence be thus treated as an episode in that gradual settlement of the relations between legislature and executive which provides the main theme of English constitutional history, the question presents itself why it came to be fought at all? Why was 1689 not a decisive date for America as well as for England, and for what reason did the new arrangement which secured tranquillity at home fail to achieve the like result overseas? The answer is that in the seventeenth century the constitutional problem which so imperatively demanded solution in England can hardly be said to have existed in the colonies. Its place was taken by another problem of a much more practical character. How could the executive authority of the English Crown overcome the obstacles of distance and imperfect communication and in any way assert itself across the Atlantic? Throughout the seventeenth century it was more or less explicitly assumed that the obstacles were insuperable. At its beginning the colonists who settled in Virginia and New England received charters which laid it down in general terms that as subjects of the English king they were expected to govern themselves according to English law. At its close a proprietor like Penn or a royal governor like Andros, was practically empowered to wield the whole executive power on the king's behalf. By the first of these expedients the authority of the Crown was in effect suppressed; by the second it was rendered impotent

through severance from its source. In neither case could there be any such conflict between executive and legislature as came to an issue in England. Only when time had strengthened the authority of the American legislatures, had revealed to English ministers the solid value of their country's overseas possessions, and had brought England and America near together through the powerful link of the mercantile system, was the old condition of superficial compromise superseded by a direct and fatal clash of principles.

The clash was fatal because it took both peoples by surprise. Yet from the first warnings had not been wanting. The protest of John Smith to the Virginia Company in 1608 amounted to an assertion of the rights of the infant colony against the demands of the London executive. The difficulty was recognised as soon as it was understood that expeditions to America involved permanent settlement and were not mere treasure hunts, and was dealt with in rough and ready fashion as local conditions appeared to dictate. These conditions were not the same in Virginia as in New England. The colonists of Virginia recognised themselves to be participants in a commercial speculation, and only asked that their duties as money-makers should not clash with their rights as Englishmen. They therefore accepted without demur the decision of the Virginia Company to govern the colony from London, but were suspicious of the council's policy as aiming at nothing but dividends. The obvious solution was to transfer supreme authority to the Crown and the transfer was made in 1624, when a desire to avoid friction with Spain induced James I. to accept the responsibility. From that date onwards the average Virginian regarded himself as an Englishman too far off to be under the control of Parliament, but a loyal subject of the king and entitled to his own views on questions of English politics. In this spirit Virginia recognised Charles II. as soon as it received tidings of Charles I.'s execution,

and, while yielding to Cromwell's threat of force, set itself to obtain good terms for its reluctant allegiance.

The colonists of New England, on the other hand, adopted a more independent attitude from the outset. They had crossed the Atlantic in search of a place of refuge from persecution ; they recognised no economic tie with the mother country, and while desiring no formal breach, thought of themselves as self-governing communities. Their insecure position between the French to the north and the Dutch to the south, compelled them, indeed, to look to England for protection and helped to maintain them in nominal allegiance. Yet they were prepared on occasion to maintain their own interests without reference home. In 1635 they founded Connecticut as an outpost against the Dutch, and nine years later, when the imminence of civil war in England aroused them to a full sense of their isolation, they formed a rudimentary federation as the United Colonies of New England. The union was intended to make them self-supporting, and the mother country was ignored altogether. It is greatly to Cromwell's credit that he was able to arrest the formal separation thus threatened. True, the circumstances were in his favour. For the first time since their establishment the colonies were sympathetic towards the English Government, and several of the leading Parliamentarians were personally familiar with New England. Cromwell himself felt a special regard, which he avowed in his speeches, for the men who had faced such hazards for liberty's sake, and the goodwill on both sides found expression in a statute which declared that "the people of England and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging . . . shall henceforward be governed as a commonwealth and free state by the supreme authority of this nation." The concluding phrase was prudently vague, for the colonies had shown some desire to define their actual position.

Massachusetts had formally declared that within the limits of its charter, it had absolute control of its own government, and Virginia had formally requested freedom from English taxation. No notice was taken of these demonstrations, and, with their tenour to warn him, Cromwell framed a new colonial policy distinguished by the blend of genius and cunning characteristic of his statesmanship. In substance he offered the conditions of New England to Virginia and the conditions of Virginia to New England. Recalcitrant royalists were banished to the royalist colony, and thus given freedom of belief akin to that sought by the Puritans a generation earlier. New England, on the other hand, was brought into the English economic system to which Virginia already belonged.

This latter stroke of policy was effected by the Navigation Act which restricted trade with the colonies to vessels flying the English flag. The measure was aimed at the Dutch, and the New Englanders hated their Dutch neighbours. Moreover, the Act permitted and even contemplated the establishment of a shipbuilding industry across the Atlantic, and the desire to possess a merchant fleet was as strong among the seventeenth century New Englanders as it is among their modern descendants. Once in operation, the Navigation Act was justified by its success. A fatal blow was struck at the Dutch carrying trade and colonial goods found a ready market in an England which was fast recovering from the shock of civil war. Scarcely had the king come into his own again when the Cromwellian policy was further extended. A list of colonial products was drawn up which were to be imported into the mother country only. Customs were charged upon these importations, and the Crown thus derived a substantial revenue from its oversea possessions. The interference with colonial freedom was obvious, and at a later date the people of Massachusetts could protest that

the Navigation Acts imposed on them restrictions from which other subjects of the king were free. But to the intelligences of the later seventeenth century the new policy seemed reasonable enough. Economic thought, then just beginning its activities, was emphasising the importance of trade, and it was accepted that colonies were founded with a view to the economic benefit of the mother country. Moreover, in return for these restrictions, the colonies were granted favourable terms in the rapidly expanding English market. Virginia was even given the monopoly of tobacco, and found it highly profitable. Finally, the administration of the Acts was entrusted to a body which after two changes in name and constitution became the Board of Trade and Plantations. Glimpses of its earlier work are afforded by John Evelyn, one of the board's commissioners. It was evidently at pains to get into touch with the best business opinion of the time; it smoothed over friction between the various colonies; and it commanded the goodwill of moderate men on both sides of the Atlantic because of its efforts at religious toleration. Its work had the sympathy and active encouragement of King Charles II., who was able to show his natural benevolence without recourse to any of the tortuous devices to which political difficulties normally drove his ingenious but unprincipled mind.

The system thus inaugurated was not seriously disturbed by James II.'s brief attempt to establish a despotism in America by means of an obsequious viceroy. Under William III. it became stereotyped, and remained in operation until 1783, when the independence of the American colonies was formally recognised by treaty. Throughout the whole of this period it suffered only one important modification. The development of American industry was definitely thwarted. The theory of the mercantile system was that the mother country was entitled to such raw materials as her colonies could export—a theory which

England made tolerable to her American colonists by coupling it with preferential duties or even, as in the case of tobacco, with a monopoly of the home market. But no mutually advantageous bargain was possible in regard to colonial manufactures. According to mercantile doctrine, a colony had no right to manufactures, but should satisfy its requirements by purchases at home.

England never pushed this doctrine to its logical extreme, though she attempted on occasion to prevent the colonies trading with one another. Towards the export of colonial manufactures she was, however, emphatically hostile. According to the ideas of the time, it was monstrous that a colony should compete in this direction with its mother country, and American woollens, fur hats, and hardware were forbidden to be sent across the Atlantic. The prohibition strikes the modern reader as harsh, but does not appear to have roused particular resentment.

Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that the mercantile system worked smoothly. In William III.'s time relations were distinctly strained, and the king had to assert himself to the extent of revising Massachusetts' charter. Even so, Massachusetts was at the root of most of the trouble which occurred. To some extent her position was forced upon her, for of the other colonies none was of great account except Virginia, and the tobacco monopoly kept Virginia grumblingly tranquil. But to some extent the friction was of Massachusetts' own making. American historians, naturally regarding independence as the pre-destined end, have applauded Massachusetts' rigid insistence on the letter of her alleged rights. English critics, who view the matter with less feeling, but may nevertheless not be free from bias, find her greedy, unaccommodating, and self-righteous. On the whole, it seems fair to say that her relations with England, while bringing out the dominant characteristics inherited from the mother country, also

revealed less pleasant qualities which the lapse of a century and a half has not perhaps eradicated.

As the material in the London Record Office is slowly sifted and made available, the wonder is not so much that the breach came as that it did not come earlier. Something, no doubt, must be allowed for the false impression produced by a collected mass of papers. Englishmen love to grumble, and the accumulation of sixty years' grumbles wears a very formidable look. Something, too, must be allowed for the temper of the age. The eighteenth century was prosperous, easy-going, tolerant, conservative, and almost amazingly indifferent to finer issues of principle. Its personalities corresponded with its spirit. It was a century of little men dominated by a few outstanding figures. The movement towards independence was fostered by a handful of determined men, and the war itself might have ended ignominiously enough but for that magnificent aristocrat, George Washington. But there are also other considerations of a less general nature.

In the first place, the mercantile system was applied reasonably. The list of colonial products which could be exported to England only was never very long, and its omissions—corn is amongst them—are noteworthy. Faced with continual protests, the London authorities were evidently anxious not to give the colonies any chance of maintaining that their whole economic life was thwarted by the control imposed upon them. As for the obligation to export in English ships, it was not felt as a burden at all. The great development of the mercantile marine had converted it into a privilege.

In the second place, the instructions were more formidable on paper than in reality. The bureaucratic tradition has hardened nowadays, and it is difficult to persuade a Government department to admit any exception to its rules. The eighteenth century observed a different convention. Administrative ordinances

could always be waived, and it was notorious that every man had his price. An extensive smuggling business which corrected all the abuses of mercantilism was thus carried on under the eyes of complaisant officials at no very great expense to the colonies. Moreover, even if the executive had the will to be strict, it lacked the power. Its agent overseas was the Colonial Governor appointed by the Crown. On taking up his duties the Governor found himself face to face with the Colonial Assembly which voted the Governor's salary and which held fast to the old constitutional principle that redress of grievances must precede supply. It might be that the Governor was honourably anxious to carry out his instructions from home. But he knew that if he appealed to the Board of Trade and Plantations in London he would get no proper backing from its indolent and probably corrupt officials. There was, in fact, nothing for it but to bargain with the Assembly and after some more or less heated argument the bargain was struck.

In the third place, the colonies were incapable of concerted action. The circumstances of their origin made them mutually exclusive. They had been founded to relieve some intolerable religious, political or social stress in English life. Incompatible elements, Catholics and Puritans, traders and adventurers, country squires and dissenting ministers, men who in England had somehow learned to settle down side by side, lived in America in water-tight compartments. It was reasonably certain that Massachusetts and Virginia would take opposite views on any subject and every colonial frontier furnished incidents which led to bad blood. The home government served a useful function in patching up these quarrels, and was not the less useful because it was never in a hurry to interfere and was, indeed, even at pains to keep a sufficient number of controversies alive. In fact, the machine functioned because it was so loosely put together.

In the fourth place, the period was as strained in its international relations as it was easy-going in its domestic affairs. The century resounds with the clash of arms between England and France, and in this turmoil the American colonies were vitally interested. The extension of French power was beginning to make their position precarious. French posts along the St. Lawrence obstructed them to the north and French posts along the Mississippi forbade their expansion westwards. Farther south the French were in touch with the Spaniards, and although Spain had ceased to be formidable, a Franco-Spanish alliance would create a very serious situation. These considerations appealed to Massachusetts which, while foremost in opposing the home government in all other matters, was foremost in co-operating with it in the fight against France. More particularly was Massachusetts determined to dislodge the French from Nova Scotia. The key-position, the fortress of Louisburg, had once been in British hands but had been restored to the French in 1713 under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. Massachusetts was convinced that Louisburg would one day need to be taken again, and that it could not be taken without the aid of English sea-power. The long impending storm broke in 1756, and the war ended in an overwhelming English victory. The French troops were expelled, not merely from Nova Scotia, but from Canada. Massachusetts displayed great energy in the attainment of this end, and was indignant with some of her sister colonies for their reluctance to take part in the fighting. Her relations with the London government were never more cordial than during the decisive phase of the Seven Years' War, but the very success which attended the common effort ruptured the one tie which still held the colony and the mother country firmly together.

The situation after 1763 thus demanded the utmost caution on the part of the home authorities. It was

a bad moment in which to attempt a step forward in colonial policy, but the circumstances seemed to make a step forward imperative. The war had strained the financial resources of England to the utmost, and the victory won still required to be made permanent, for it was clear that France had not accepted her defeat as final. The pressure of these facts imposed upon English statesmen a policy whose two main heads were a revision of the country's fiscal system with a view to providing revenue to redeem the war debt, and the consolidation of the Empire against the day of renewed battle with France. The breach with America arose out of the execution of the first part of this scheme, but its more far-reaching second part was the final cause of disruption. The British Empire of to-day conceives of itself as an association of nations engaged in the pursuit of common aims of world policy, and it would be impossible to exaggerate the cohesive force of this consciousness of identical purposes. But no such conception was present in the minds of the American colonists. They did not think of themselves as forming a nation. Inter-colonial jealousies stood in the way of that idea, and it took five and twenty years of association under conditions of perpetual crisis to wear down the obstacles to permanent union. Nor could the colonies feel themselves in sympathy with the new trend of English policy. Even when France was securely established in America they had not been equally sensitive to her pressure, and now that France had become an old world power they could not admit any concern with Anglo-French quarrels. The disunion of the colonies which had long operated to the advantage of England was thus now turned to her detriment, for it was precisely on account of their rudimentary political organisation that the Americans met the new aims of English statesmanship with a complete misunderstanding which steadily hardened into definite rejection.

The first hint of trouble came with Grenville's

determination, in itself proper enough, to tighten up the administration and to put a stop to frauds on the revenue. What Grenville failed to realise was that the mercantile system was only able to operate because of the loopholes with which corruption had riddled its structure, so that stoppage of the loopholes would bring the entire structure down. Intimidated, however, by the opposition aroused, Grenville sought to attain his end by other means, and passed the Stamp Act. This was certainly a new departure, though it admitted of the defence that the Act imposed a duty and not a tax and was thus akin in principle to the familiar legislation which insisted that colonial produce should be shipped to English ports and should there be subject to a tariff. This defence, however, was not seriously put forward ; on the contrary, the obnoxious Act was repealed as a result of American protests ; and the home authorities fell back on yet a third scheme still nearer to the traditional practice. Customs duties had long been imposed on colonial products entering English ports. It was now enacted that customs duties should also be imposed on foreign products entering colonial ports. Even here, however, the home government did not show itself obdurate. It so far yielded to colonial remonstrances as to withdraw the whole customs tariff except the duty on tea—a duty much lower than that paid without demur by Englishmen at home. On the question of this duty the Government stood firm, and its firmness cost England her American colonies.

Surprise may be felt that the home government which had yielded so much, refused to take the one final step which would have saved the situation. There can be no doubt that any ordinary Ministry properly dependent on Parliament would have been content to drop the whole scheme and to fall back into the old easy-going ways. But the Ministry which upheld the tea duty was not a Parliamentary Government. Its members were the king's spokesmen and the king

was obstinate. His correspondence shows that he appreciated what was at stake. If he gave way, his project for organising and consolidating his dominions would collapse and his newly won American Empire would be held by mere paper ties which the French would rupture when next they bestirred themselves. In the end it was the king's attitude which destroyed all possibility of compromise. When the colonists first took up arms they claimed to be fighting the king's ministers and not the king. A year later they had grasped the truth and dealt with it by the issue of their declaration of independence.

Surprise has also been felt that a Parliament which passed the Quebec Act out of consideration for the French Canadians should have been so utterly callous to American sentiment. But the French in Canada were foreigners to whom England wished to show the true benevolence of her rule, whereas the colonists were subjects of the king who had forgotten their loyalty. Such an offence demanded punishment and the despatch of troops. It is probable that the English Parliament did not realise how fiercely their despatch would be resented. In England the old hatred of a standing army had largely died down; but the language of the declaration of independence shows that it blazed as furiously as ever in America. It may be doubted, however, whether the English Parliament would have acted differently even if the strength of American feeling had been realised in London. The popular instinct was that it was the duty of British subjects to obey the law, and opinion was too shocked and impatient to examine the causes of disobedience. There are episodes in the recent history of Ireland which show that in this regard British feeling is still what it was 150 years ago.

The war, in fact, was fought because of the king's policy and his people's temper, a point which is somewhat obscured in the history books by long discussions of the legality of the taxes. American writers, in their

agerness to justify the hectic phrases of the declaration of independence, long maintained that the colonists were resisting an illegal piece of tyranny. It is now, however, generally admitted that so far as strict law was concerned, the British Parliament was wholly within its rights. Its legal sovereignty over all British subjects was, and is, absolute, and the Crown had made no attempt to limit it in any colonial charter granted out of its prerogative. The English people have, however, a convenient epithet for action which, though technically legal, is a breach of the spirit in which their institutions are worked. Such action is described as unconstitutional, a term of loose but very effective purport in a country which has no written constitution. Now there can be no doubt that the attempt to raise revenue in America was flagrantly unconstitutional. It upset a compromise which, though never sanctioned by law, had obtained for a century. Since Cromwell's time it had been understood that the English tax-gatherer should operate on his own side of the Atlantic and that the colonial legislatures should manage their local affairs. Such an arrangement could not be upset except by mutual consent.

Moreover, the colonists were hardly in a position to appreciate the legal point. What made the tea duty technically legal was that it had been enacted by the sovereign Parliament. But what the colonists saw was that it was collected by the king's officials. To them, therefore, it appeared an executive outrage on their legislative rights, precisely on a par with Charles I.'s exaction of ship-money. As such they resisted it. Unhappily they were not in a position to settle the issue. The English had dealt with their king. The Americans were not in a position to persuade, much less depose and execute, a king on the other side of the ocean. They cut the knot by repudiating him. Further than that they could not go. They could not even determine the relations between their

own new executive and their legislature. The jealousies of the various colonies compelled them to acquiesce in a constitution of a very makeshift type which disposed of the matter by making the two authorities separate. This divorce of legislature and executive still continues, and is at the root of the difficulty felt by the United States in concluding a treaty with a foreign power.

Nor can it be said that the English Parliament was in any hurry to profit by the terrible lesson it had received. The ultimate cause of the trouble was the mercantile system, and the mercantile system was maintained intact for another fifty years. It was then gradually abandoned, not because it had proved politically disastrous, but because it was judged to be economically unsound. Free trade was advocated on its own merits and the twentieth century had dawned before English statesmen began to consider the possible relation of fiscal policy with imperial union.

Still less did the home Parliament abandon its claim to supreme legislative authority. Its rights are intact to this day, and the British Empire as we know it has been brought into being by their prudent exercise. The Governments which now function in the autonomous states of the British Empire derive their legality from Acts of the British Parliament—Acts which are protected by no special sanction, and every one of which could theoretically be repealed by Parliament to-morrow. Other things besides the memory of 1776 guarantee their maintenance, though it may be granted that the memory of 1776 is a contributory cause. But to contend that the loss of the American colonies directly prompted the grant of representative institutions to what are now the dominions, involves a perversion of history. In so far as the grant was due to more than sheer administrative necessity, it was inspired by the general tone of nineteenth century thought and particularly by

that strong individualism and dislike of Government control which was promoted by the action of French revolutionary ideas. So soon as these ideas penetrated the British consciousness they produced political effects as conspicuous in colonial policy as in other departments of administration. But they did not begin to assert themselves until a good forty years after the recognition of the United States and in the interval the influence of the War of Independence on British colonial policy was purely negative. Parliament clung to its legal sovereignty and drew the conclusion that it could only be maintained if the colonies were deprived of all means of challenging it. It is significant that though, as a result of the Napoleonic wars, Britain obtained new colonies in all parts of the world, representative institutions were not set up in any one of them.

There is indeed one exception, but it proves the rule. A body of devoted men who bear the proud title of United Empire Loyalists refused to live in what had now become the United States. The bulk of them crossed into Canada and colonised Ontario. To them in 1791 Parliament granted a constitution. But it must be remembered that their loyalty had made them very dear to Englishmen's hearts, that they could not live under the form of government which suited French Canadians, and that they could scarcely be denied political privileges which the French had received. The character of the new settlers and the constitution actually in being in Quebec combined to assure the grant of a constitution to Ontario and the notion that if it were withheld the Loyalists would secede like the men with whom they had broken can never have entered Englishmen's minds.

The question thus arises whether the ends attained were worth such violent means. It is a question of necessity unanswerable. We cannot guess what might have been if George III. had been as patient as he was

in fact headstrong, and had preferred to consolidate his Empire organically by labouring to promote a feeling of union among the colonies, instead of artificially by imposing an outward show of centralised government. Some will argue that the tie with the mother country was from the beginning too weak to endure, that if the breach had not come over taxation it would have come over slavery, and that the United States could not have undergone the enormous expansion of the later nineteenth century under any other constitution than the singularly loose form of federation evolved in the first years of independence. Others will reflect that the world would have escaped much past and present suffering if the forces now represented by the United States and the British Empire had so adjusted themselves as to be able to act in whole-hearted and enduring co-operation. The individual student of affairs must prefer whichever line of thought his temperament indicates. But this much at least can be said that when the framework of society proves too small for the human energies contained within it, its shattering brings loss as well as gain. The world as we know it is organised into national states; its religious life is diverse and vigorous; its stock of political ideas is kept fresh and attractive by the divergent lines of development pursued by the most politically gifted of its races. All these phenomena are so much a part of our experience that it is hardly possible to conceive of life in terms which would deny them. But lest we be tempted to acquiesce too readily in things as they are, it is worth while to ask whether the institutions we enjoy are so certainly worth the price which we have paid for them in the disruption of the Roman Empire, the disruption of the universal church, and the disruption of the English-speaking peoples.

CHAPTER VI

PIONEERS OF CANADA

§ I

PRELIMINARY

WE have seen in the preceding chapter how the American colonies, after a long and bitter war, threw off the so-called British yoke, and won political independence. Factions and parties, thinkers and opportunists, then as now, were active in England and America. Some had visions of disaster to the future and prosperity of England ; others saw in the determined self-immolation of the recalcitrant colonies a means of escape from an intolerable and irritable extraneous burden. But one section of the colonists refused to disown their allegiance to the mother country, and, sacrificing their hard-won lands and their homes, preferred to begin their lives afresh in the northern part of the continent which refused to join the rebellious states. To one writing ten years after the Great War of 1914, it seems remarkable how the effacing hand of time has healed many of these century-old sores, and yet has kept alive the embers of those freedom-loving or patriotic fires which the protagonists on either side wished to hand down from father to son as an inspiration for their future action. In the Great War, the descendants of these dissident colonists, now represented by the Great Republic of the West, came to the assistance of the allied nations, and fought side by side with their Canadian brethren, who had, without hesitation or delay, joined in the struggle. Yet if it had not been

for the loyalty of the Canadian colonists and of the United Empire Loyalists who in the dark days of disaster maintained their allegiance, the great communities of the West might never have intervened in the European War, and the history of the world, in its evolution towards some co-operation in international relations, might have taken another and a more tortuous turning. Canada, instead of being another of the American states, is a great and growing nation, with vast territories and resources, self-contained from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and bounded on the north only by the almost impenetrable ice-bound regions of the Pole. Between them these nations—the United States and Canada—embrace areas that would cover Europe and much of Asia in extent and in variety of climate and products. Moreover, they co-ordinate the political activities of states, provinces, and peoples, that require in the old world the organised efforts of dozens of states and Governments with their armies and armaments to restrain mutual animosities and national egotisms.

It may not be amiss, before embarking on a brief review of some Canadian pioneers, to recall the progress made by the United States since their independence was established less than a century and a half ago. Their secession seemed in some respects to strengthen their adherence to English principles of freedom, traditions, and laws. Their Constitution, hammered out under circumstances of great stress and difficulties, has wonderfully withstood the tests of time and unanticipated conditions ; and while in some ways it suffers in lack of elasticity and freedom of action from comparison with that of their neighbour Canada, it reflects the concerted wisdom of men who had gone through hard experiences and wished to provide against future dangers. The United States of America were founded by British pioneers, and, though in the making of their country, they came into conflict with the British Government of the time, there has always been a

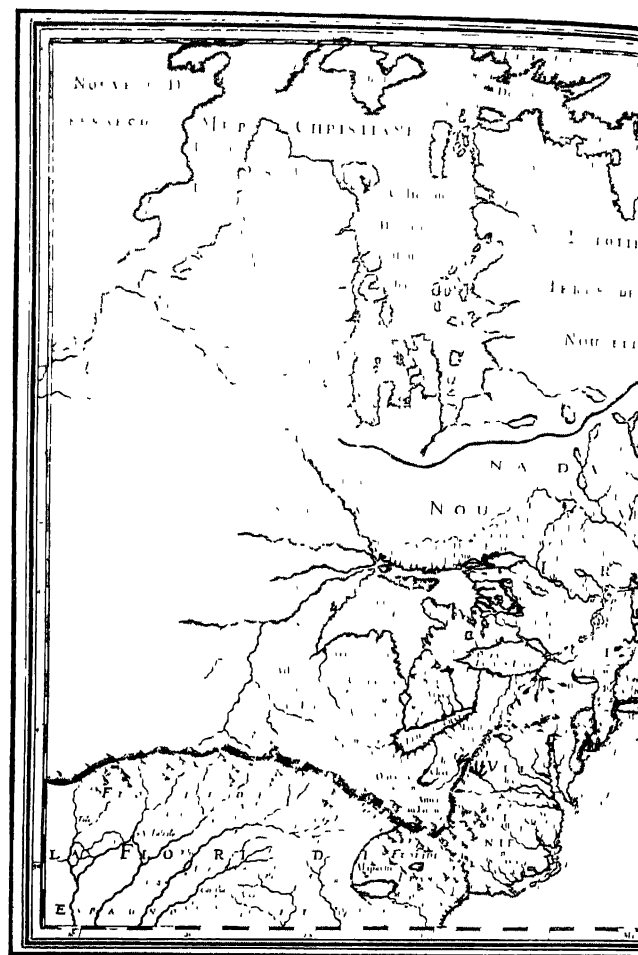
tendency in the Homeland to look upon them as a parent looks upon a beloved, though obstinate and erring child. The United States is in some respects more English than England. It is the only great Government in the world that has made and maintains English as the sole official language. Other languages have every freedom in public or private use, but when the Government speaks or is addressed, the official language of communication is English. Across the northern border, French and English are official languages in certain Provinces, and other tongues have claimed official recognition. In Great Britain—itsself a small League of Nations as the Empire is a greater—Gaelic and Irish and Welsh and Manx and French have each their rights and their uses, and it is even claimed that Cornish is still alive. In South Africa, during a burst of mutual and chivalrous magnanimity on the part of old and bitter antagonists when they were framing the Constitution of the Union, Dutch and English were both made official languages, and these bilingual rights have been carried to such a meticulous degree of enforced equality that the medium of expression for official instructions or written thought is deemed almost more important than the subject matter itself. Australia and New Zealand alone in the Empire approximate to the practice of the United States.

Mr. Philip Kerr, a keen observer with a wide experience in international affairs, has recently summed up the position of the United States in the following words, "Geographically, the United States is more like a continent than a nation. We do not generally realise its tremendous size. It is 3000 miles across by 1500 miles deep. That is to say, it would stretch from London to somewhere in Siberia towards the east (Moscow being about half-way), and to somewhere in the Sahara to the south. It contains 110,000,000 people, four-fifths of all the inhabitants of North America. It has forty-eight State Governments,

each of them controlling a territory averaging in size a European state, and one Federal Government. It is so vast that whenever I am in the Middle West, where the centre of political gravity now is, and see its isolation from the rest of the world and the tremendous problems which confront it, it seems nothing short of a miracle that America joined in a war in Europe as a united country.

But the United States is a great deal more than geography and statistics. It is manifestly a great moral and spiritual force. What is the United States? It is primarily an experiment in democracy. It was founded by people like the Pilgrim and the Puritan Fathers and William Penn, who went forth from Britain because they wished to be allowed to work out their own salvation in their own way, free from the interferences and restrictions of an autocratic government, a State church, and a caste-ridden society. In the communities which they founded everything was subordinated to the well-being of the average citizen. There was to be no privileged order, no hereditary authority; the fortunes of the individual were to rest upon his own industry and character, and the fortunes of the community on the capacity and public spirit of the citizens, and on nothing else. . . .

"The United States is a pure democracy. This huge country, as big as Europe, has no Government as we are accustomed to regard government. Not only has it a multitude of State Governments, each wholly responsible to the people, but even at the centre the power is distributed. In Washington there are three or even four independent authorities, and Government can only function in important matters when they can agree. The President is elected by the people. The Senate is elected by the people. The House of Representatives is elected by the people. And, finally, there is the Supreme Court entrusted with the duty of seeing that these other powers, singly or



NOTE ON MAP OF CANADA

Map of Canada by Nicholas Sanson, Paris, 1656. Labrador, and the eastern portions of North America appears on this map long before this name was used



OR NEW FRANCE.

s map shows what was then known of New France, It should be noticed that "New South Wallis" Australia.

collectively, do nothing which the Constitution does not permit. . . .

"When all has been said and done, America has been a success. As an experiment in democracy the United States has been the most successful experiment ever known. For 150 years it has given a higher standard of living, an ampler education, and a freer life to the whole body of its citizens from top to bottom than any other land. It has absorbed millions of emigrants from all the races of Europe, has made them patriotic citizens, has given them better opportunities than ever before, and has not hesitated to entrust them with full political responsibility as well. Yet it has never been unfaithful to the great tradition of political and religious freedom which its founders brought from England, or men like George Washington or Abraham Lincoln have given it since. And, despite all the croakers and the tremendous difficulty of assimilating some classes of immigrants to American standards, there is no sign of that tradition failing now. Nor has America failed in the fundamental duties of a State. It has kept the reign of law within itself. It has cut out the canker of slavery from its own heart, at the cost of a civil war. And when the test of the Great War came, despite its traditions, its distance, its aversion to Europe, its democratic control of foreign policy, alone among the neutrals, it came in effectively on the right side, and within eighteen months landed 2,000,000 men on the shores of France to fight for freedom's cause. It is this huge country, with its queer mixture of humanity and violence, which is now the most powerful State and the most significant portent in the modern world."

So much for the United States. Except in material development, the progress of Canada has been no less remarkable, and its future is so full of promise that this century may have to record as rapid an expansion of its activities as the last has done for its neighbour on the South.

§ 2

THE EARLY PIONEERS

It is perhaps a matter of geographic fitness that the first white men to discover the country were Scandinavians, of that Viking race whose galleys and raiders for so long infested the seas and the inlets of Britain. Norsemen had conquered Normandy, and Norsemen were invading England about the time that Lief Ericson, known as Lief the Lucky, sailed westward from Greenland with thirty-five followers, and reached the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland. They sailed south to a land that they called Wineland, the wine being made probably from the "cranberry," but no permanent settlement was effected. This was about A.D. 1000, and it was nearly five hundred years later that John Cabot, sailing from Bristol on the 2nd May, 1497, with eighteen men in a small vessel, the *Matthew*, landed on June 24 on what is generally supposed to be Cape Breton Island. Five years previously Christopher Columbus, in attempting to reach India by sailing westwards, stumbled on the New World, and the news of his discovery fired the imagination of all seafaring adventurers. Columbus was in the service of the King and Queen of Spain, and the Pope in the following year divided all the undiscovered land between Spain and Portugal. Cabot, who was supported by King Henry VII., and empowered to seek out any regions in any part of the world hitherto "unknown to all Christians," had deliberately kept to the North-West in order to avoid any conflict with the Spaniards. Cabot took possession of the country in the name of the King of England, and hoisted the Royal Standard of England, and beside it the banner of St. Mark of Venice, of which he had been a naturalised subject though a Genoese by birth. After coasting along the

south shore of Newfoundland and encountering such enormous shoals of cod on the Grand Banks that the sailors caught them by merely lowering baskets, the seafarers reached Bristol on August 6, a voyage of short duration but of enormous consequences. The king was delighted with the result of the venture, and gave Cabot a present of £10 and a pension of £20 a year, worth then probably more than ten times its present value. Though no inhabitants had been seen, Cabot reported evidence of their existence from the discovery of snares, notched trees, and bone netting needles. The supply of codfish, he predicted, would supplant that of Iceland.

A year later Cabot, accompanied by his son, Sebastian, set sail from Bristol with two ships on another and more pretentious voyage. He touched the ice-bound shores of Greenland or Labrador and coasted southwards as far as Chesapeake Bay, and then returned to England. The voyage, as regards material results, was a failure. The Golden East had not been found, and the only cargo consisted of a few furs of small value but harbingers of a great future trade. Cabot died shortly afterwards, and Sebastian, his son, joined the service of Spain.

Interest in the "Newe founde lande" and the "Newe Isle" continued for a few years but gradually languished. Stories of the great supplies of fish brought by foreign ships from Newfoundland revived interest to some extent, but the task of exploration was taken up by others countries—by the Portuguese and French, Italians, and Spaniards.

Mention can only be made of Gaspar Corte-Real, a Portuguese, who visited these shores and on his second voyage carried off some Indians as slaves. His own ship, however, as well as that of his brother who went in search of him, perished without leaving a trace behind. There was also John Verrazano, who, at the instigation of Francis I., King of France, explored the coast south of Nova Scotia, but who, after the French

king's defeat, was eventually captured by the Spaniards and hanged as a pirate.

The part played by the Italians in the pioneering adventures which brought the great European nations into contact with the New World should not be overlooked. Cabot drew England to Newfoundland, after Columbus had led Spain to Central and South America. As Amerigo Vespucci led the Portuguese to Brazil, so the Italian pilot, John Verrazano, showed the French the way to settlement in Canada. The widespread conquests of Rome and the sea-lessons gathered by generations on the Mediterranean waves, inspired the leaders that guided the tiny ships over the pathless ocean to these unknown lands.

The French now entered actively on the scene. A pilot from St. Malo, a seaport on the coast of Brittany, Jacques Cartier by name, volunteered to lead an expedition in search of the North-West Passage. His offer was accepted by King Francis, and setting out with two small vessels on April 20, 1534, he reached Newfoundland in twenty days. He explored the east coast of Newfoundland and bays in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, hoping to find the much-sought passage to the east, but in vain. Chaleur Bay buoyed up his hopes for a time, but he was "sore distressed" to find himself at a dead end. Landing, however, on the Gaspé Peninsula, he set up a cross, in the presence of some Indians who had come down the River St. Lawrence to fish for mackerel. Persuading two youths to go with him, he touched at the island of Anticosti, and thence returned to France. In the following year he set sail again, this time with three ships and a crew of about 112 persons. He also brought back the two Indians as interpreters. After passing Anticosti the Indians began to recognise the country, and informed Cartier that he was entering the estuary of a river, along the waters of which he could sail to unknown parts. When he learned, however, that these waters were fresh and not salt, his hopes of

finding the North-West Passage through that channel were disappointed, and turning about, he began to grope along the stormy coast of Labrador. Finding no indications of a passage, he determined to explore the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Eventually Cartier reached Quebec, the actual home of his kidnapped interpreters, who were able to tell their delighted relatives of the great French land overseas. The chief of the Indian tribe, probably Huron—Iroquois, was named Don-nacona, and he invited Cartier to his village, which he called Kannata, in other words a collection of huts. Cartier mistook this for the name of the district, and applied it to the country, Canada, which is now the greatest of our dominions and one of the rising nations of the world. Leaving his ships, Cartier pushed up the river in his pinnace, and after spending some time with the Hurons, and naming the beautiful country to be seen from their town, Mont Réal, he returned to Quebec, where they had to winter. Unaccustomed to the cold of these latitudes, and suffering from lack of suitable food, these pioneers of France endured great hardships, and began to die of scurvy, the bane of sailors who had to live so much on salted food. Twenty-five actually died, and at one time only ten, including Cartier, were immune from serious illness. Fortunately, however, one of the two Indians who had been to France told Cartier of a cure which was prepared from the bark and leaves of a tree called Anneda, probably the balsam fir. Two native women showed how the extract could be prepared, and its beneficial effect on the crews was remarkable. Within a week they all recovered.

During this period of enforced inactivity, Cartier learned a great deal about the country, and the customs of the inhabitants. It is worthy of note that he found among these Indians the use of "tobacco," which he quaintly describes in his Norman French. "They make powder of it and put it in one of the

ends of the said cornet or pipe, and laying a coal of fire upon it at the other end, suck so long that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney." Cartier, it is interesting to learn, tried the same smoke, and having put it in his mouth, found it almost as hot as pepper!

He was determined to return to Europe, but, before doing so, he lured on board Donnacona, the two youths who were taken to France the previous year, and about a dozen other natives. He promised their weeping relatives that they would be well treated and brought back again. They were well-treated and no doubt served a purpose in extolling the riches of the Canadian lands, but they all died before Cartier made his next and last voyage in 1541. This time his reception by the Indians was not enthusiastic. Their inquiries about their kidnapped kinsmen showed their anxiety and their suspicions, and doubtless had much to do with subsequent troubles. Cartier, however, proceeded up the river until his boats were stopped by the rapids. He now returned to his ships near Quebec, laid the foundations of a fortified town, called Charlesbourg Royal, and, after a bad winter, set sail for France. Off Newfoundland he met the ships of Sieur de Roberval, who was appointed Viceroy of Canada and with whom he was supposed to co-operate. Cartier did not wish to spend another winter in Canada, and slipped off quietly at night. Roberval's attempts at a settlement proved a failure, and he too returned to France, to die some years later in a street brawl in Paris. Cartier retired to a farm near St. Malo, and spent his remaining years in peace. Though France was now forced to abandon any great schemes for Canada, Jacques Cartier had explored a great part of the St. Lawrence. He had failed to find the passage to the Pacific, but he found one of the great waterways of the world and a pathway into the heart of the great Canadian plains.

Though numerous voyages were made by small trading vessels for furs and fish, two generations passed before any successful attempt at settlement was made in Canada, or New France, as the country was also called. On May 24, 1603, there arrived at Tadoussac three ships from France. The expedition was organised by Aymar de Chaste, Governor of Dieppe, and included among others Pontgravé, who had formerly sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Three Rivers, the Sieur de Monts, and Samuel Champlain—the last, a name destined to be remembered as the greatest of the founders of French Canada. They received from the French king, Henry IV., a monopoly of the fur-trade, in return for which they undertook to found a colony. Much of the support for the venture was due to patriotic motives as well as to a desire to spread the Christian Faith amongst the savage Indians. Indeed one of the most glorious chapters in the subsequent history of the country is the fearless and self-sacrificing zeal of the Jesuit missionaries, under physical conditions of the most distressing and miserable description, and with the danger of torture and death ever looming in the background.

Champlain had already travelled considerably. He had served for six years as a soldier, and he assisted his sea-faring uncle to transport to Spain the Spanish soldiers who had been serving in Brittany. From Spain he was entrusted to take a king's ship out to the West Indies, where he spent two years in exploring the islands and the mainland of Central America. He reported on the country to King Henry IV. on his return, and even suggested the possibility of cutting a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, thereby shortening the passage to the Pacific "by more than fifteen hundred leagues." He, too, had the idea of discovering a sea passage to the west when he sailed on what proved to be a more fruitful quest.

He lost no time in starting his explorations. He ascended the Saguenay River for sixty miles, and

gained much information from the natives about the country beyond. They spoke of a lake and plains that eventually reached the salt sea, where dwelt savage tribes that ate raw flesh—an allusion probably to Hudson Bay and the Eskimo. He visited Quebec and reached the La Chine or St. Louis Rapids. In his travels he noted magnificent forests with a great variety of trees, and an abundance of game and other animals, ranging from deer and bears to hares and beavers. He returned from France in the following year, 1604, under the Sieur de Monts, who had succeeded De Chaste as head of a reorganised company. After coasting about for some time, they decided to make their first settlement on a small island at the mouth of the St. Croix River in the Bay of Fundy. During the winter nearly half of the pioneers died from scurvy of a virulent type, and on the arrival of supplies from France in the spring of 1605, the remnant of the colony was transferred across the bay to Port Royal, afterwards called Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. There arrived in 1606 with further supplies, two men whose names are important in the roll of French pioneers—Baron de Poutrincourt, and his friend Marc Lescarbot. The latter wrote the first history of New France, and as a pioneer he was in advance of his time in advocating the establishment of homes and the cultivation of the soil as the foundation of sound colonisation rather than a frenzied quest for gold and silver and copper.

It is impossible to follow in detail the work and career of Champlain. Till his death in 1635 he was engaged in exploration or in the administration of the country. In 1608, on July 3, he selected as the site for a trading post the spot on which now stands the far-famed city of Quebec. His travels brought him into contact with the quarrels of the Indian tribes, and he supported the Hurons against the Iroquois to the great advantage of the former. He ascended the River Ottawa, portaging his canoes with great difficulty when shoals or cataracts blocked his way. He



Statue by Philippe Hebert, at Quebec] To face page 169
Le Comte de Frontenac. [1620-1698].

reached Lake Nipissing, and, following the French River, he arrived at Georgian Bay. Thence by way of Lake Simcoe, he reached Lake Ontario, being the first white man to visit its shores. He joined the Hurons in an unsuccessful attack on the Iroquois, was wounded, and spent the winter with the Hurons, about whose life and habits he left an interesting account. Changes were made in the fur-trading company, which continued to pay good dividends, but little was done in actual colonisation, though the so-called company of the Hundred Associates in return for the trade monopoly undertook to settle at least 4000 colonists in the country in fifteen years. Meantime war broke out between England and France, and in 1628 the French fleet was defeated and captured in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Champlain had to surrender Quebec with its little garrison of eighteen to Sir David Kirke in 1629. The next three years he spent in England and France, and was delighted at the restoration of the colonies to France. Champlain returned to Canada as Governor in 1633, and brought some settlers with him. He died, however, two years later after a strenuous life ungrudgingly and unselfishly spent in the service of his country. He has been blamed for allowing his fighting instincts to incur the wrath of the Iroquois against the French settlers. Yet he exhibited in his person some of the best qualities of his race. He was chivalrous and generous, a bold and skilful navigator and explorer, and a loyal upholder of his country and its ideals.

Slow but gradual progress was being made with settlement, and missionaries were active among the Indians during the next generation. Count de Frontenac as Governor, and François de Laval, as Bishop, played prominent parts in the development of the colony. Little, however, was done in the way of exploration until La Salle made his romantic excursion to the Ohio and down the Mississippi to its mouth,

which he reached on 9th April, 1682. Before then he did much travelling along the lakes, and also built the first sailing vessel, the *Griffon*, on Lake Erie. He sailed with her to Green Bay in 1679, but on her return voyage, loaded with furs she went down with all hands on Lake Michigan, and ruined all his hopes for paying off his debts. He had to winter among the Illinois and make his way back on foot or canoe for a thousand miles to Fort Frontenac, under appalling difficulties of floods and swamps and hostile natives.

Returning from France in 1687 to found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, he was shot by one of his mutinous crew. Thus ended the life of one of the most daring and gallant of French explorers.

Much of this exploration was outside the boundaries of the present Dominion of Canada, and the great west and north had still to be invaded. The greatest of French pioneers in this region was Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye, who was born at Three Rivers in Canada, where his father was Governor. He had a romantic career before he began exploring. He served in the French army and with nine wounds was left for dead on the battlefield of Malplaquet in 1709. Finding little prospect in a military career, he returned to Canada and took charge of the trading station of Nipigon, to the north of Lake Superior. Here his imagination was fired by the tale told by a redskin named Ochagach, of a great lake beyond Lake Superior out of which flowed a river towards the west until it ultimately reached a great salt lake, where the water ebbed and flowed. The tale, we know now, referred to Lake Winnipeg, but it acted as an incentive to La Vérendrye to explore the west and reach the great ocean. An appeal to Louis XV. for financial assistance was refused, though backed by the Governor of Canada, but he eventually obtained a monopoly of the fur trade in the area to be explored, and this concession secured him supplies and provisions from the merchants of Montreal. He started out on his

expedition in the summer of 1731. With him were three of his sons, a nephew, a Jesuit missionary, and some fifty soldiers and canoemen, with Ochagach as guide. Struggling with many difficulties by land and water, not the least being occasioned by the cowardly fears and almost mutinous attitude of some of the party, La Vérendrye pushed on to the Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, and Lake Winnipeg, through a country full of swamps and rapids, lakes, and streams hitherto unseen by any white man. La Vérendrye's nephew, La Jemeraye, and his eldest son, Jean-Baptiste, proved valuable supporters, and made separate short expeditions when he had to keep the remnants of his followers together at the stations which he established. Lake Winnipeg failed to be the ocean that they sought, and away to the west stretched the boundless prairie. Their resources were now exhausted, and an appeal to the King for help was again refused. The merchants of Quebec, however, came to the rescue, encouraged by a large consignment of furs that was sent down from the new lands, and the work of exploration was continued. But misfortunes did not cease. La Jemeraye died suddenly, and a party sent out to meet the fresh supplies coming up from Montreal were massacred to a man by the redskins. Their decapitated bodies, among them that of Vérendrye's son, Jean, were subsequently found lying in a circle, with their heads wrapped in beaver skins, and grimly ornamented with porcupine quills. The pioneers pushed ahead. On the 24th September, 1738, they built a rough fort on what is now the centre of the city of Winnipeg. They explored the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, and travelling westwards came within sight of the mighty Rockies. The two sons even reached the Saskatchewan about the year 1743. In 1752 De Niverville founded a fort at the foot of the Rockies on the ruins of which long afterwards rose the town of Calgary. But this was almost the end of their opportunities for exploration.

The mission of the French explorers was almost

finished. La Vérendrye died in 1749 and his sons were treated with ingratitude and neglect by the Governor, who wished to secure the fur trade for his friends. Great movements in Europe, however, were deciding the destinies of Canada. Britain and France were entering into a death struggle for Empire, and the fate of New France was decided by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The British flag soon floated over the country, and British policy began to shape its destiny. But French pioneers had blazed the trail which the great Canadian Pacific Railway long afterwards followed, and French Canadians can look back with pride and gratitude to the great part played by their countrymen in exploring and laying the foundations of the great Dominion.

§ 3

EXPLORERS OF THE NORTH-WEST

Reference has already been made, especially in Chapter III., to the efforts of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and John Guy of Bristol to establish a colony in Newfoundland, our oldest possession in the New World ; to the attempts of Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling—attempts more far-seeing than successful—to found a Scottish settlement in Nova Scotia ; and to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 by Prince Rupert, the dashing cavalier of the Civil War, and his cousin, King Charles II., who were encouraged to undertake the adventure by two French Canadian fur-traders, Groseilliers and Radisson. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the sovereignty of Great Britain was acknowledged to extend over the vast area drained by the rivers that fall into Hudson Bay.

The quest for the North-West Passage is one of the most romantic and fascinating chapters in the history of exploration. Baffled to find a passage farther south,

one navigator after another searched the bays and inlets towards the north in the hope of finding the channel that led to the Pacific and the east, but in vain. Nothing daunted, however, by the failure and the fate of former pioneers in these ice-bound and inhospitable wastes, others were lured on, determined to solve the mystery of the passage through these icy seas. Martin Frobisher made three voyages in three successive years, 1576-8, and reached the shores of Labrador. Ten years later John Davis, or Davys, in the course of three voyages, passed the entrance to Hudson Straits and reported an ice-free sea, large and blue and deep, which he believed to be the eastern end of the North-West Passage.

Henry Hudson, after two futile attempts to discover a North-East Passage to India, turned westwards to the American coasts and sailed up the Hudson River, which is named after him, in the hope that it might lead to the long-sought passage. In April, 1610, in a ship called the *Discovery*, he renewed the attempt, and sailed westwards after touching at Iceland. With a disaffected crew and in tempestuous weather, he pushed his way through the straits and into the sea that are now named after him, and finally decided to winter in James Bay. Hardships, illness, and threatened starvation beset the mariners, and the crew mutinied. Hudson, with eight "poor, sick, and lame" men, including his son, were put into a boat and cast adrift. Nothing more was ever heard of them, but sailors have told how they saw the fogbanks lift to reveal the ghost of Henry Hudson steering his dead companions on their lonesome voyage to the cold north-west.

The *Discovery* returned in safety to Plymouth, though after much suffering and the murder of four of the crew by Eskimos. No punishment appears to have been meted out to the mutineers, and a few months after their return, undeterred by the fate of Hudson, Sir Thomas Button sailed for the north-west,

carrying with him a letter from King James I. to the Mikado of Japan, offering reciprocal privileges if he would render assistance to English travellers. Needless to say the letter never reached the Mikado, and after wintering in Hudson Bay, Button returned to England. Voyages by William Baffin, Luke Fox of Hull, and Thomas James of Bristol helped to map out the coasts of Hudson Bay and Baffin Bay, and though they failed to find the North-West Passage, they were of service in marking out the coasts of North America as spheres of British activity and influence, and of creating public interest in the untraversed hinterland. The Hudson's Bay Company gradually asserted their control over these fur-bearing areas, and became interested more in combating their rivals from the south than in pursuing exploration. But the spirit of adventure that lured the Elizabethans to these barren and snow-clad shores, still survived, and men like the dauntless Sir George Back, Captain Parry, and Sir John Ross, carried on the work. The greatest of all, however, was Sir John Franklin, who perished with all his companions on the threshold of success. Franklin had a long and romantic career before he sailed on his last voyage with his two ships, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*. He took part in the Battle of Copenhagen and fought in the *Bellerophon* at Trafalgar. He had sailed with Flinders to explore Australia, and was wounded before New Orleans in the American War of 1812. He made two voyages to the north-west, and then became Governor of Tasmania. Eventually in May, 1845, he sailed from England with about 130 men and wrote his last message to his wife from Stromness on 7th June, saying that he had all requisites, and was "comforted with every hope of God's merciful guidance and protection." Everything to begin with was propitious, and they were reported well by a whaler that spoke them in Melville Bay. Then they disappeared from human ken for six years. When two years had passed without news, inquiries were set afoot and many search

expeditions were despatched from Britain and the United States. Gradually the story was pieced together. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June, 1847, after the ice-bound ships were practically within sight of success. The ships were afterwards abandoned and the unfortunate survivors, hoping to reach some outpost overland, perished in their tracks. As an old Eskimo woman simply said, "they fell down, and died as they walked along." Thus was another sad toll paid to the ice-bound solitudes of the Arctic Seas.

To complete the story of the North-West Passage, it remains to record that Roald Amundsen, a Norwegian, sailed in the small ship *Gjoa* from Christiania on the 16th June, 1903, and after a slow and dangerous voyage, crossed the seas to the west, rounded the Alaskan coast, and arrived at Nome on 31st August, 1906. Thence he passed on to San Francisco and Norway, having proved that the passage, sought for so long and at such a price of human life, is a geographical though a valueless reality.

The coasts of Canada were now being charted, and there remained only the great interior of the north-west to explore. Magellan and Cook and Vancouver were extending the knowledge of the western shores, while explorers and hunters were pushing on to the north and west. The first noteworthy explorer of these regions was Samuel Hearne, who was in the service of the Hudson Bay Company and had previously been in the Royal Navy. He was observant and interested in the customs of the natives, and his records of his travels are full of interest. Leaving Fort Prince of Wales in November, 1769, he travelled northwards, but difficulties with his guides hampered his progress. Eventually he reached the Coppermine River, and was the first Englishman to see the Arctic Ocean from the north-west coast of Canada. On his way back he crossed the Great Slave Lake, and reached home in 1772, after an adventurous and dangerous

expedition. In 1774 he founded Fort Cumberland on the Saskatchewan in opposition to the traders from Montreal.

But the greatest of all these explorers was now to appear on the scene in the person of Alexander Mackenzie. Born at Stornoway, in the island of Lewis, he had the spirit of seafarers and mountaineers in his blood, and he found congenial scope for his energies among the enterprising fur-traders of Montreal. At the age of twenty-two, he was in charge of the large Churchill River district and a partner in the new North-West Company. Amid much bitter feeling between the rival traders, he showed tact and decision, and soon gained prominence as an energetic and able administrator. But visions of exploration dawned upon the ambitious young man, and he was ably seconded by his cousin, Roderick Mackenzie. Setting out from Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca, on 3rd June, 1789, with some French-Canadians, and Indians as guides, Mackenzie pressed on by the Slave River into the Great Slave Lake, and ultimately found the outlet of the great river which since has borne his name. This stream he followed until they reached the Arctic Ocean, which showed its presence by the ebb and flow of the tide in the delta of the river. He now decided to return with all speed, as the Indians were troublesome and provisions were running short. The party reached the fort after a journey of 102 days, in which a huge territory was traversed for the first time by any white man.

Mackenzie, however, had further visions of exploration: he wished to cross the mountains to the ocean on the west. In the meantime he did not neglect the trading aspect of his work, and convinced his colleagues of the value of a forward policy in view of the keen competition and enterprise of the rival companies. After paying a visit to England, during which he took occasion to improve his scientific knowledge with a view to taking accurate observations, he started on



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Sir Alexander Mackenzie. [1755-1820].

[From the painting by Sir T. Lawrence, engraved by Peter Conné]

May 9, 1793, on his memorable journey to the sea, having passed the previous winter at an outpost at the source of the Peace River. His party consisted of six French Canadians, two Indian guides, and his trustworthy second in command, Alexander Mackay, who belonged to Reay, just across the Minch from his own island of Lewis. Space does not permit to follow in detail the journey of the adventurous explorers, through wild and beautiful scenery and forest country full of game, past cascades and rapids, through thickets and hot valleys infested with mosquitoes, sometimes travelling by water and other times portaging until finally they reached the Great Divide, and after facing every form of danger from Indian treachery and roaring torrents, they reached at last the shores of the Pacific, the first white men to cross the American Continent north of Mexico. Mixing a quantity of vermilion with melted grease, Mackenzie wrote on the face of a rock, "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three. Lat. $52^{\circ} 20' 48''$ N." Strangely enough, Mackenzie gathered from the natives that Captain George Vancouver had been off the coast shortly before then in his voyage of exploration. The two pioneers had missed each other by a few days.

The homeward journey was attended with much danger and hardship, but he reached Fort Chipewyan in safety after an absence of eleven months. This was the end of his explorations. He returned to England and was knighted. He wrote in 1801 an account of his travels, which was well received. It inspired Lord Selkirk to found his settlement on the Red River. It was also translated into French from a smuggled copy by order of Napoleon to provide Bernadotte with information regarding North America which Napoleon meant to attack. Bernadotte expressed his appreciation of the volume, though the Russian campaign took the place of the attack in America.

Mackenzie kept up his interest in the trading company and served in the Legislature of Lower Canada and Great Britain. He settled down in Scotland and died suddenly in 1820.

Others now took up the work and began to fill in the gaps between the outlines of this vast territory. Simon Fraser, David Thompson, and Sir George Simpson played prominent parts in extending our knowledge of unexplored territories, as well as many others whose names deserve recognition did space permit. Gradually the influx of population and the adjustments that necessarily follow economic pressure and political development influenced the scattered communities and tended to the wonderful growth and wide outlook that characterise Canada of to-day. The separation of the United States, and the addition of that vitalising element, the United Empire Loyalists, shaped the future destinies of the country and helped to make it a definite national entity. Settlements like that of Lord Selkirk on the Red River, though many of the settlers had been cruelly driven from their Highland homes, were forerunners of great waves that are still filling up the great prairies of the west. Patriotic and able pioneers have arisen in all forms of activity, and the careers of men like Donald Smith and George Stephen, and of many others, read like a romance. As Canada has been the first to hammer out the solution of the political relations of the dominions to the mother country, so will arise with the need men able to deal with problems and enterprises that have not yet risen above the horizon. But it is well that Canadians should remember the pioneering deeds of the hardy stocks from which they have sprung.

NOTE.—For a succinct, interesting, and up-to-date appreciation of the rise and development of Canada, the reader is referred to the Chapter by Sir George E. Foster, the distinguished Canadian statesman, in another Volume of this Series, *The Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire*.

CHAPTER VII

PIONEERS IN THE EAST

THE headline, "India in Transition," has grown so familiar that it no longer provokes an ironical reference to that now fly-blown catchphrase, "the unchanging East." Nevertheless, not even the universal uncertainties of the age can quite reconcile middle-aged folk to the acceptance of political unrest in India. The system inaugurated when the Crown took over full sovereignty in India in 1858 assumed, during the later years of Queen Victoria's reign, an aspect of monumental permanence. The India of Rudyard Kipling's earlier works was a land in which a devoted band of white men laboured, each in his allotted sphere, to secure impartial justice and reasonable prosperity to teeming millions whose minds, habits, and aptitudes had remained unchanged since the triumph of Brahminism. There had been imposed, it seemed, upon Hindustan a beneficent unifying system which would endure in its impersonal majesty so long as England continued to produce men capable of working it. We know now that a scheme of Government which appeared eternal was destined to operate for a bare half-century, and that throughout its period the agencies of change were steadily taking shape and gathering strength; and we have come to regard Indian history as thoroughly spasmodic, a sequence of pauses and catastrophes. A more comprehensive view suggests, however, that there is more than an element of soundness in the older conception. True, the East is by no means unchanging, but the changes have an air of inevitability and unwind themselves as steps in a logical process, so that at no point can

it be said that a new influence is asserted and a new start made. The dominion status to which India is now visibly moving is nothing but the development of certain declarations in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858; that Proclamation itself, though at its issue it seemed to mark an epoch, was no more than the natural conclusion of a policy inaugurated some seventy years earlier when the Crown first definitely assumed executive responsibilities in India; and for all its apparent challenge to tradition this policy in turn was but the assertion of the obvious truth that the East India Company enjoyed an authority which the Crown had delegated and which it was legally entitled to resume. The line of evolution can be carried even further back. From the beginning of her history, India has been the prize of whatever foreign conqueror represented the influences then dominant in the world. Between Alexander the Great and George V. no European monarch set foot in India, and the chain which associated the two names is made up of very diverse links. But the links are nowhere broken, so that to the historical eye the coming of the English to India, their two centuries of struggle for commercial supremacy, and their final assumption of territorial power seem the last steps towards the accomplishment of some predestined end.

The survey of England's relations with India thus raises the most searching of all the questions which history prompts. How, in the last resort, shall we interpret it all? Is history the record of movements which, though partially directed by the men who took part in them, are ultimately beyond their control? Or does it rather declare that there arise at intervals men of genius who of their own volition give a new twist to the world's destinies? It is a question which Englishmen do not usually face, so convinced are they that their whole imperial inheritance was originally won and must now be consolidated and maintained by the initiative of individuals.

But it cannot be shirked in connection with the tale of England in the East, so largely is that tale concerned with a process of events undeflected by the aims and acts of great men, and its discussion may profitably occupy a chapter in a volume concerned with the making of Empire.

The final conclusion may be stated at once. The relations of India with the Western world, and especially with England, were given their special and peculiar character through the achievements of two men of whom one was an Englishman, Robert Clive, and the other a mortal enemy of England, Joseph Dupleix. To these illustrious names it is perhaps permissible to add a third. Indian administration bears, to this day, the stamp fixed on it by Warren Hastings, of whom, however, it may be said that he seized his opportunity rather than made it. The period of these three lives covers 66 of the 324 years of association of England with India; over the rest there broods that strange Oriental quality of predestination, that overwhelming sense of men unconsciously working towards ends which they neither intended nor desired. The final question of the moral and purpose of it all is thus left open; and that is history's way.

Nowhere does the suggestion of exterior control more powerfully present itself than in the circumstances of the East India Company's formation. The Elizabethan age was ignorant of modern methods of preserving food, and salted meat played a considerable part in its dietary. Condiments were required to make the stuff palatable, and the trade in condiments was in Dutch hands. Holland had made a late start in her overseas enterprises, but in the execution of them had revealed her special quality of commercial shrewdness. The Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago gave the Dutch a trade in dainties which proved all the more lucrative because supply rapidly created demand. The Elizabethan English in particular

acquired a taste for spicy flavours, and when it was well established the Dutch monopolists put up their prices. In 1600 the price of pepper was raised at a stroke from 3s. to 8s. a lb. The stomachs of London's aldermen protested. Their brains echoed the protest, and at a meeting presided over by the Lord Mayor it was decided to adopt retaliatory measures. Information as to Eastern conditions was obtained from returned travellers, the Crown gave the necessary charter, and in 1601 the East India Company sent out its first expedition in a fleet of five ships well found in gold and goods for purposes of barter. The fleet made for Sumatra, and returned home after a voyage so successful that the future of the company was assured. With dividends of nearly 100 per cent. at its command, its expansion was so rapid that apart altogether from its territorial connection with India, its foundation marks an epoch in England's maritime and commercial history. The East India Company built, launched, and operated the first of the great merchant fleets which are England's strength. It is not too much to say that but for the East India Company, Cromwell's Navigation Act would either never have been passed or would have proved inoperative. It was the East India Company, too, which fought the long battle with Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danish, and German rivals for control of the Eastern trade, until after two centuries, during which the British people had acquired that taste for tea which was and is so valuable a commercial asset, the close of the Napoleonic Wars saw British supremacy at last established.

These achievements stand to the company's lasting credit. In other respects its influence was equally powerful, but thoroughly pernicious. From first to last the policy of the company was monopolistic, and the monopoly which it sought covered not only the territory in which it operated, but the right of access thereto. Its control of the Indian market in

particular was exercised not only against all foreigners but against all rival English traders as well. The company was, in fact, the first trust, and it pursued the familiar trust policy. It was merciless towards its competitors and when it had almost ruined them it bought them up and made full use of the new ships and new openings thus acquired. Moreover, like other trusts, it did not hesitate to bribe the politicians. Its negotiations for the successive renewals of its charter were fruitful in corrupt practices, and towards the end of the eighteenth century it had acquired an influence over English politics surpassing that exerted by the modern liquor trade.

The first objective of the East India Company was to deprive the Dutch of their monopoly of the spice trade, and for twenty years the East India fleets had Malaya for their goal. But commercial prospects in India had not been overlooked, and in its Indian business the company clung to the principles which served it so well in England. It desired a monopoly and sought it from the sovereign authority which alone could grant it. As early as 1614, Sir Thomas Roe headed an Embassy to the court of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, when every effort was made to put difficulties in the way of the Dutch. Sir Thomas was quite clear as to the policy which the company should pursue. It required trading stations but not forts. It had no concern with Indian quarrels, the prosecution of which would only hamper trade. Such privileges as it required could better be obtained by bribing the court than by making a show of force. The company entirely approved of this policy, and maintained it for 100 years, after which the pressure of events compelled its gradual and reluctant abandonment.

It was not, however, until nine years after Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to Delhi that the company devoted serious attention to the Indian branch of its business. In 1623 there occurred an international incident which involved enormous consequences. The

Dutch, who had long chafed under the English challenge to their monopoly, attacked the company's station at Amboyna and seized, tried, and executed the staff of its factory. The direct loss occasioned by the outrage was paltry in comparison with its effect on the native mind. From that time onward trade with the English became a dangerous enterprise, for which the Dutch would not hesitate to exact grim punishment. It is not surprising that business languished, that the company's efforts to re-establish itself proved futile, and that it was finally driven out of Java before the century was out. But its servants had learnt that the wealth of the East was not a fable, and set themselves to force India to repair the losses they had sustained in the island. Their schemes prospered. The source of privilege, the Mughal Government, was venal; the English were enterprising and had gold. True, the system under which business was conducted was not wholly favourable to the company's interests. The directors in London knew that their servants in India sought and found opportunities for private trading, and returned home with the wealth which ought to have gone into the company's coffers. The practice was condemned, and a few efforts were made to suppress it. Probably no action taken would have been effective in the absence of any strict supervision from home. In any case the directors were not prepared to grant the increased salaries essential to a proper scheme of reform. It seemed better to leave well alone. If the company's servants extended the market on their own behalf the company would profit in the end, and any really valuable concession would come to the company at once because no individual could undertake to exploit it in person.

Accordingly there established itself a whole system of trade, partly legal and partly illegal, which was in full operation by the year 1700. It was a system which involved the first faint beginnings of territorial

sovereignty. The very volume of the trade made it imperative to fortify the company's stations, at least to the extent of making them safe against robber gangs; and the conditions under which trade was carried on implied negotiations with Indian princes and some concern with their quarrels. Still the existing arrangements had grown up out of local conditions and could quite well continue indefinitely, provided only that there was established in India a Government capable of maintaining the internal order essential to trade, and that the rivalry between the various competitors for the Indian market did not become intolerably acute. In the early years of the eighteenth century, however, the Mughal Empire passed into its rapid decline. Its establishment under Akbar had almost coincided with the arrival of the English in India; its decay after Arungzeb's death thus created a wholly new situation which the French were the first to grasp and to turn to their own advantage.

The French East India Company, founded four years later than its English rival, had now fought a losing battle for over a century. Its depot at Pondichery had been almost starved by Madras, and Chandanagore, intended as a counterblast to Calcutta, was in little better case. In their efforts to maintain a foothold the French had adopted a native policy congenial to their temperament. It must not be imagined, indeed, that the French traders of the seventeenth century cherished any of those lofty ideals which nowadays animate the European governors of backward races. The business of the European in India was to make money, not to discharge a civilising mission, though the Portuguese were somewhat inclined to attempt religious propaganda. But while the French, like the English, aimed at exploiting the Indian market, they had the gift, revealed a little later in Canada and conspicuously displayed nowadays in Africa, of understanding the native mind and of

breaking down racial barriers which the English were, and are, at pains to uphold. In the conditions which began to prevail in India early in the eighteenth century the exercise of this gift provided the French with a wonderful opportunity, if only the hour brought forward the man with the imagination to seize it.

The man was forthcoming. His name was Joseph Dupleix, and he landed at Pondicheri in 1720, a clerk in the French East India Company's service. He was a keen and able business man. He found the English in Madras unenterprising, comfortably confident that the trade of the district was firmly in their hands, and he lost no time in winning back for the French company much of the ground which it had lost. In the process he amassed a large private fortune which, to do him justice, he afterwards spent in his country's behalf. But his masters in Paris were suspicious of his methods and their results, and in 1726 made a point of detail an excuse for his recall. Dupleix, however, was now aware of the work which awaited him in India, and protested vigorously. His directors, fearing that he would stay in India in any case, decided to keep him, and transferred him to the now almost derelict station of Chandanagore. Dupleix promptly bribed the merchants of Bengal to desert Calcutta, and, pressing his advantage, opened up relations with native princes all over India. In 1741 the Paris company, realising at last that they commanded the services of a man of genius, made him Governor of Pondicheri. For the next thirteen years he controlled French policy in India. Once more he went too far and too fast for his masters, and in 1754 he was finally recalled, to die at home ten years later of a broken heart. But before he left India he had set in train events which moved with a swiftness and a rich personal dramatic quality rare in Indian history.

Dupleix was no soldier. Had military gifts been added to his other qualities, the tricolour might now

be floating over a French Delhi. But he was a man of insight and imagination, with a thorough grasp of the facts. As such he realised first that a small disciplined force of Europeans equipped with artillery was immeasurably superior to a native army, and secondly that the time had come when such a force could be used with decisive effect in Indian affairs. The Mughal power was crumbling under attacks from the north. The princes of Central and Southern India were asserting their independence and beginning to attack one another. Dupleix perceived that the French, thanks to their instinctive knowledge of the native mind, could play prince off against prince, could determine victory by casting their swords into the scale, and, above all, could grasp the fruits of victory themselves. All Dupleix required was a force able to leave its base. The Pondicheri garrison gave him the necessary force, but it could not move because Pondicheri itself was not secure. Dupleix asked for authority to put it into a proper state of defence. His directors refused on the ground that a war with England was impending, and that any provocative act was better avoided. But Dupleix was not to be thwarted. He ordered the fortifications to be put in hand, and paid for them out of his own pocket.

Nevertheless he felt that the English were still too strong for him, and when in 1744 war broke out before he was ready for it, he sent a proposal to Madras that India should be excluded from the field of hostilities. Madras rejected his olive branch, and Dupleix prepared to meet an English attack. But at this point events took a surprising turn. Labourdonnais, Governor of the island of Bourbon, was gifted with the strategic sense which Dupleix lacked. Realising the importance of the French stations in India and the bearing of sea power upon their security, he built a fleet locally and sailed for Pondicheri. With his arrival the tables were dramatically turned. Madras

was besieged and quickly surrendered, and had Dupleix and Labourdonnais but acted in harmony, the English might have been driven out of India. But fortune was on the English side. The soldier quarrelled with the civilian and offered to sell Madras back to the enemy. His treasonable purpose met with what seemed a punishment from heaven. His fleet was wrecked in the monsoon, and Labourdonnais, glad of a way of escape from his entanglements, returned to Bourbon with such vessels as survived.

Meanwhile Dupleix, in order to get force on his side, had promised Madras to the local Nawab, and thus found his hands tied when Labourdonnais' departure left him free to carry out his full scheme. But he was now satisfied that his military theories were sound. Without hesitation he led his little force against the Nawab's army, routed it, and signalised his victory by the annexation of Madras. Then his luck deserted him. First the arrival of a fleet from England gave his enemies the advantages of sea power, and a little later, in 1748, the conclusion of peace restored Madras to England in exchange for Cape Breton.

For six years more Dupleix laboured to achieve the expulsion of the English when the war was renewed, weaving his diplomatic webs, forming alliances with native princes, and establishing that tradition of French intrigue with England's enemies in India which in the long run powerfully impelled England towards a policy of conquest in self-defence. It was not granted to Dupleix to be in control of French policy in India when 1756 brought the reopening of the war and the climax of the struggle on three continents. But before he left he had tested the quality of the Englishman who was to render his lifework nugatory.

Robert Clive had landed in India in 1743. One of the most remarkable men in history, a born fighter and a born leader of men, a soldier of genius to be



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Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk. [1771-1820].
[From a drawing taken in 1803 by Henry Edridge at St. Mary's Isle,
Kirkcudbright, in possession of Captain John Hope, R.N.]

mentioned in the same breath as Cromwell and Marlborough, he had to conquer his own temperament before he could take up the lesser task of conquering India. As intolerant of opposition as Nelson himself, he ended his life with his own hand when Parliament, which was beginning to realise its responsibilities, ordered an investigation of his conduct. The same temptation to suicide had overtaken him at the beginning of his career and for the same reason. A subordinate deprived of all initiative, he ate his heart out with a longing to see Manchester again. But his pistol missed fire, and Clive accepted the omen. At last in 1751 he saw his chance. Dupleix was conducting a veiled war against England, and Clive determined to wreck the prestige of France by a bold stroke. Arcot lay in the territory of a Nawab under French protection. With a small force Clive moved out of Madras, took the place, and held it against a relieving army which included a French detachment. The effect on the native mind was enormous, and Clive, improving on Dupleix's example, used his poorly trained levies to make British influence predominant in Southern India. The first part of his task, the destruction of the French power, was accomplished when ill-health forced him to return home soon after Dupleix's recall.

His next step was forced upon him by an Indian, the infamous Suraja Dowlah, Nawab of Bengal, who had inherited Dupleix's hatred of the English. Seizing the pretext that Calcutta had been fortified without his consent, Suraja Dowlah made himself master of the town and 146 English prisoners. With oriental cruelty he promised his captives their lives, and then ordered them to be immured for the night in the garrison prison-cell, a badly ventilated room twenty feet square. There were twenty-three survivors when the doors were opened next morning. Madras blazed with fury when it heard news of the atrocity. Clive had just returned, and naturally took command

of the punitive expedition. Calcutta was recovered, but then the company's desire for trade, the Nawab's eagerness to regain Calcutta's tribute and the fear of Madras for the safety of its army now that war with France had broken out again, led to negotiations. Clive entered with zest into a treacherous oriental conspiracy which failed to mature. Its collapse left him with 2000 sepoys, and 900 British troops face to face with a native army 50,000 strong. The thought of such fearful odds so overcame Clive that he called a council of war which advised a retreat. After it had broken up, the commander spent an hour alone with his thoughts. Then he issued orders for an advance next day. On June 23rd was fought the Battle of Plassy, which lasted an hour and gave England Bengal. It was won in a fortunate moment for its issue determined the failure of French efforts to recover the lost Empire of Dupleix. When Clive returned home in 1760 he left his employers sovereigns of Eastern India in everything but name.

The position tempted to extortion, and the company's servants, who were governors with no sense of their responsibilities of government, pursued their economic advantage with such merciless rapacity that after two years the directors were obliged to send Clive out again to order their affairs. He had himself amassed a vast fortune in India and knew the abuses by which such accumulations of wealth was made possible. He was now resolved to suppress them, and struck at their root by forbidding the company's servants to engage in private trade or to receive presents from natives. He made the new conditions possible for civilians by substantially increasing their salaries, a step which he took in defiance of the directors in London, and the expense of which he bore himself. The soldiers were less tractable. Two hundred officers, men who had fought under him, sought to paralyse his action by resigning their commissions. Clive treated this behaviour as mutiny, and cashiered the

ringleaders. His will prevailed and his reforms endured, but even he could not take the further step of openly assuming the government of Bengal. Instead, he set up a system of dual control under which the company ruled in the name of native princes.

It would be an outrage on Clive's genius to assume that this plan was meant as anything but a temporary expedient to pave the way for that direct assumption of sovereignty which his own victories and Dupleix's policy had rendered inevitable. It must have seemed to him that he could afford to wait. He could not anticipate that his work would collapse after three years, thanks to a famine and the bankruptcy which it entailed. In its difficulties the company appealed to Parliament. Parliament was beginning to feel the breath of a new spirit which, finding terrific expression in the French Revolution, was to dissipate the comfortable stuffiness of the eighteenth century. Impelled by the generous enthusiasm of the new age, Parliament assumed ultimate responsibility for the government of Bengal. An English judicature was to render impartial justice. An English Governor-General, aided by a Council, was to preside over the administration. The system of dual control in India was swept away, but not yet utterly. It was transferred to England where it took the form of a partnership between the once omnipotent company and the Crown. To such an unstable arrangement there could be but one end. That it endured, as modified by Pitt, for over seventy years, that it took the thundering rhetoric of Burke to reveal its initial defects, that it needed the shock and terror of the Mutiny to expose its ultimate impossibility, are facts important only as evidence of the shortsightedness of mankind.

But even the inevitable requires to be set definitely in train, and the history of India might have taken another turn if the first experiment in government had broken down. Its success was assured by Warren

Hastings in his ten years' term as first Governor-General. Himself influenced by the new spirit, he inaugurated a new tradition. He was the first Englishman to wield authority in India who really cared for the native, learnt his language, and studied his civilisation. If on its military side the Government of India derives from Clive, on its civil side it derives from Hastings. Moreover, it learnt from him one vital principle of administration that, in the last resort, government in India is tested by its treatment of the cultivators of the soil. It was Hastings who took the collection of land revenue into his own hands, and inaugurated the policy of fair assessment which Cornwallis was to perfect a generation later. In one other and less creditable respect Warren Hastings showed himself a model Civil Servant. He took an over-precise view of his responsibilities. He was answerable for the good government of Bengal; he was not answerable for the good government of any part of India beyond its frontiers. The limitations which he thus imposed upon himself were by no means altogether bad in their effects. When Bombay involved him in a war with the Maratha Confederacy, Hastings patched up a peace. When Madras provoked the soldier of fortune who had made himself Sultan of Mysore, Hastings, having first reduced him to reason by organising his defeat, left him his independence. But in his general dealings with native princes, Hastings's conception of his office made him think it possible to serve two masters. The company wanted funds and provided they were abundant, would not inquire too curiously how they had been obtained. Hastings was resolute that its demands should not conflict with its duties as a territorial sovereign, but outside Bengal he was prepared to satisfy them without scruple. To get money for the company he lent troops to the Nawab of Oudh and thus enabled him to subdue the Rohillas. To get money for the company he deposed the Rajah of

Benares and placed the wealth of his state at the directors' disposal. To get money for the company he levied huge blackmail on two princesses of Oudh charged with encouraging the Rajah of Benares in his recalcitrance. There were episodes of which Westminster Hall was soon to hear more than enough, but in truth it did not require Burke's eloquence to indict the system under which such offences against the principles of the righteous Government could be committed. Once the obligations of sovereignty had been recognised, they could not be confined within arbitrary frontiers.

The march of events had become irresistible and affairs moved surely though somewhat haltingly towards their predestined end. The decisive word now rested with agents not of the Court of Directors, but of the Crown, and the freedom of these agents was in fact unhampered since instructions from London were out of date before they arrived. Such conflicts of policy as occur in the history of India during the early nineteenth century are mainly due to a fear that territorial expansion may be too rapid for administrative efficiency, and if India had been immune from interference from Europe it is possible that even now British influence would barely reach to the Indus. But the war with Napoleon forced the pace. In itself it was of comparatively little moment that beyond the limited frontiers of British India there were native princes whose intentions were the reverse of friendly. Left to themselves they were too weak to be dangerous. But the situation was transformed when the native princes were found to be employing Frenchmen to drill their troops, and Napoleon, who cherished dreams of Indian conquest, saw to it that the supply of French instructors did not fail. By 1815 expansion had gone too far to be arrested, and any tendency to check it on the ground that France was no longer a menace to India's tranquillity was forbidden because of the advance of Russia in Central Asia. Russia's designs

as revealed or suspected in her dealings first with Persia and then with Afghanistan, made it inevitable that British arms should advance to the Himalayas.

The principle that Britain must assert herself as the permanent power in India and must take complete responsibility for its defence was first definitely asserted by Lord Wellesley, Governor-General from 1798 to 1805. It was Wellesley who concluded the treaty with Hyderabad under which the ruler of that important state pledged himself to employ no Europeans other than British subjects in his service and who secured the frontiers of Madras and of Bengal by establishing British authority in the adjacent kingdoms of Mysore and Oudh. The problems presented by Bombay proved harder to liquidate because the Maratha confederacy disposed of a really formidable military power, but the issue was determined when Wellesley's brother, Arthur, afterwards Duke of Wellington, defeated the Maratha forces at Assaye. His victory was won in 1803 but the situation was not finally regulated till 1817, and in the interval, particularly during the viceroyalty of Lord Minto when the war with Napoleon was reaching its climax, it appears as though the English were endeavouring to escape their destiny.

The appearance is deceptive. During these years the forces available were diverted from India in a final attempt, renewed after two centuries, to destroy the Dutch Empire in the Malay Archipelago. Holland, having been swallowed by France, the English used their sea power to capture two rich prizes, Java and Ceylon. The proximity of Ceylon to India caused its retention. Java, on the other hand, was restored to its original owners, but not until the last of the great men who helped to build an Empire while nominally serving a trading company had made it certain that the British name should not be altogether obliterated in the Farthest East.

Stamford Raffles was selected by Lord Minto to

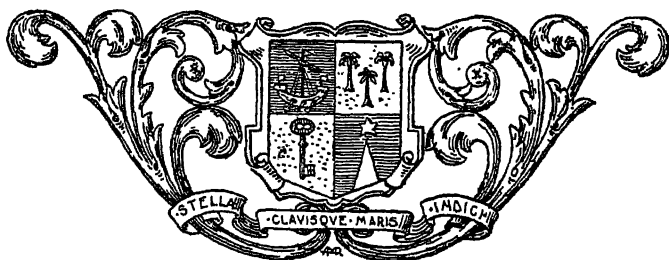


Sir Stamford Raffles. [1781-1826]. *To face page 194*
[From the painting by G. F. Joseph, in the National Portrait Gallery].

be Lieutenant-Governor of Java after the island's capture in 1811 by an expedition half of whose strength consisted of Indian troops. An administrator of the new type, Raffles brought to his work a splendid sense of duty which won him the reverence of the natives even though the pace of his reforms was sometimes too fast for them. In five years he abolished the trade monopoly, did away with forced labour, reformed taxation, remodelled the harsh criminal law, worked out a scheme for intensifying production, despatched ships to suppress piracy and slave dealing, and even dreamed dreams of opening up trade with Japan. Then in 1816 Java was restored to the Dutch. Two years later Raffles was sent to Sumatra to redeem the island from bankruptcy. But neither the British Government nor the East India Company thought Sumatra worth keeping, and in 1824 it was exchanged for Malacca, according to the terms of a treaty under which Britain shut herself out of the Malay Archipelago by a pledge not to occupy any island south of the Straits of Singapore. Undaunted by the fact that all his work had again been undone, Raffles set himself to render one more service to his country. Perceiving that Britain must possess an island south of Malacca if she was to be able to ensure her free passage of the straits, he had obtained in 1819 the concession of Singapore from the local Sultan. Thanks to the firmness of the Indian Viceroy, Lord Hastings, the concession was retained in spite of the East India Company's reluctance to bear the expense of its development and the inclination of the British Government to yield to Holland's protests. Appreciating the magnificent opportunities of the island's situation, Raffles made Singapore a free port, and laid down the plan of its development. His premature death in 1826 when he was only forty-five, did not allow him to see the results of his foresight, but Singapore was soon destined to realise his utmost hopes, and to prove the starting point of fresh expansion. In 1839 James

Brooke, an Elizabethan born in the Victorian age, sailed from its harbour on the romantic enterprise which has enrolled his name among the dynasts of the East ; and a generation later its growing importance forced the British Government to intervene, at first reluctantly enough, in the affairs of the adjacent mainland.

Before this date Singapore, at first dependent on the Calcutta Government, had been incorporated in a Crown Colony and the progress of events in India had ceased to be effected by requirements of policy farther East. Development, both territorial and administrative, had taken its predestined course. The life had gone out of "Jan Kumpni" in Wellesley's time, though half a century was to elapse before the removal of its corpse. Not until 1858 was India wholly free to enter upon that phase of political growth the consequences of which are now becoming manifest. Throughout its period she has commanded the services of men adequate to her immense needs, but none of them has controlled or even sought to control the general progressive movement in which he was involved. Maybe its strength is now such that it can no longer be mastered by mortal power ; yet were India again to find herself at the cross-roads of destiny we may hope that England would again produce a son worthy to wear the mantle of Clive.



Arms of Mauritius.

CHAPTER VIII

PIONEERS OF AFRICA

§ I

WEST AFRICA

THE story of English pioneers in West Africa begins with those hardy and adventurous seamen who, taking service with the Portuguese, wandered down the coasts of Africa in search of gold and spices. Their names are unknown, unless, indeed, they are preserved in the archives at Lisbon, and the voyages they made are forgotten, even the industrious Hakluyt, to whom we owe so much of our knowledge of early English exploration, failing to mention them. Nevertheless they played an important part in the rise of English enterprise in Guinea, for when they returned as old or broken men to the seaports of the West Country and told their tales of far-off lands, they were sowing the seeds of adventure in the fruitful soil of Tudor England.

Prior to the first English voyages to Guinea, and for some time afterwards, the whole of the unexplored continent of Africa belonged by right of discovery, according to the famous papal bull of 1493, to the Portuguese, who erected the cross as the emblem of Christian sovereignty on every convenient headland and built massive stone fortresses, many of which still exist, as the symbols of their temporal power. Their claim was not undisputed. Into the uncharted waters of the Gulf of Guinea, French ships from Rouen, Dieppe, or Bordeaux frequently intruded, and long before the end of the Elizabethan age the French

and British, followed at a later period by Dutch, Brandenburgers, and Danes, had established a footing on the coasts and helped by external aggression that process of political decay which attacked and finally undermined the Portuguese State.

The first pioneer of English enterprise in West Africa was "Olde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth," as he is termed by Hakluyt, father of that great Elizabethan seaman, who, with Drake, helped to singe the King of Spain's beard and became one of the outstanding figures in our maritime history. Old William Hawkins in the course of his three voyages to Brazil, landed on the coasts of Guinea, "where he traffiqued with the negroes, and tooke of them elephant's teeth and other commodities which that place yieldeth," and thus commenced the story of English trade with West Africa. This trade, however, so far as we know, was not immediately followed up, and it took another twenty years of fireside yarns at Plymouth and elsewhere before one Thomas Wyndham, of an old Norfolk family, made his ill-fated voyage to the Benin River in search of ivory, spices, and gold. Wyndham, who is noted as one of the most adventurous of the navigators of the Elizabethan age, and was described by the French Ambassador as an expert in piracy as well as "un grand homme de marine," was not particular in confining his operations to the ships of hostile nations. His zeal for adventure and hope of gain were roused by a Portuguese captain, Antonio Pinteado, who, about the year 1550, arrived at Southampton and offered his services to the English traders and merchants.

The tale, as unfolded by Hakluyt, does not redound to the credit of Wyndham, who, having sailed from Portsmouth on August 12, 1553, with two goodly ships, the *Primrose* and *Lion*, "furnished with men of the lustiest sort," soon quarrelled with Pinteado, "calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words,"

and finally returned home with only a remnant of his lusty fellows, for of seven score men there came back to Plymouth scarcely forty, and of these many died: so early did the fatal West African climate take its deadly toll. Nevertheless Wyndham and his associates reached the Benin River, and were the first Englishmen to penetrate into our great colony of Nigeria, for though Wyndham did not journey to the capital of the King of Benin, some of his associates did. He may be regarded as the first Englishman who fairly rounded Cape Verde and sailed into the Southern Sea.

The voyage of Wyndham and the tales spread abroad by his companions were sufficient to arouse great interest in the possibilities of trade with West Africa. A "worshipful company of Marchants Adventurers for Guinea," was formed by certain wealthy traders, and in 1554 John Lock, and in succeeding years numerous other adventurers, such as William Tewson, William Rutter, George Fenner, and James Welsh, visited the West African coasts and laid the foundations of English trade in that part of the continent.

The nearness of the African littoral to the West Indies was favourable to the traffic in negro slaves that had been started by Spain in 1517. For many years the English refused to engage in this trade, but in 1562 the famous Sir John Hawkins took three hundred negroes from Sierra Leone to San Domingo and was subsequently rewarded with a crest representing "a demi-Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord" as a token of his prowess in establishing so lucrative an industry. At first Queen Elizabeth hesitated as to whether she should support these ventures, and she is reported to have said that "if any Africans should be carried away without their free consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven on the undertaking." Unfortunately the queen changed her mind, and

subsequently lent Hawkins one of her own ships, while an Act of Parliament was passed legalising the purchase of Africans. Hawkins, who thus commenced this trade so far as the English were concerned, was one of the greatest, most stalwart, and venturesome of the pioneers of the Golden Age of English discovery, and what he did in furthering the atrocious traffic in slaves was regarded as no shame by his contemporaries. It was indulged in by princes and people alike, while divines did not scruple to teach that slavery was consistent with the principles of humanity and the laws of revealed religion.

The beginnings of British enterprise in West Africa from the commencement of the slave trade to the formation of the African Association in 1788, are marked by the gradual extension of British commerce along the coasts and into the interior. Early in the seventeenth century a fort was erected on the Gambia, that great and commanding river which should be the outlet of a great part of West Africa, and gradually either new forts were established, especially along the Gold Coast, or old forts changed hands as English, Dutch, French, and Portuguese strove for the mastery. The history of these forts is as romantic as anything in the annals of British enterprise, and as yet it has never been properly told. The unknown pioneers of empire lie buried in their spacious courtyards, and few names have survived from among those who risked life and health in the arduous fight for gain on the fever-stricken coasts of Guinea. Those who were not killed by the climate or by their own indulgences frequently fell victims to the attacks of their neighbours, and the changes in the West African possessions of the European nations were so numerous that it is difficult to follow the history of these outposts.

In addition to the dangers of climate, the difficulties of navigation along the surf-bound coasts, and the dread of attack by hostile natives, there was always the possibility of the Portuguese seizing some

unguarded moment in order to assert their historical claims to supremacy. When in the year 1618 George Thompson, a Barbary merchant, was sent by a Company of Merchant Adventurers that had received a charter from King James in the first year of his reign, to explore the Gambia and to reach if possible the famed city of Timbuctu, he was attacked by the Portuguese and subsequently killed by one of their men. The Portuguese were determined to prevent English adventurers from reaching the almost fabulous city to the north of the Niger, news of which had come to England through the works of Leo Africanus, which by this period had been translated. Timbuctu was then the magnet that lured men into the interior—a magnet as famous and attractive, and far more real, than the golden city of Eldorado of Raleigh's dreams. Thompson managed to ascend the Gambia to a point above the Barrakunda Rapids, where, at Falk Tenda, he built a fort which was used as a basis for his explorations. As he was known to be in difficulties, the merchants of London sent Richard Jobson, who was not a seaman but describes himself as a gentleman, to his rescue. Jobson left Dartmouth on October 25, 1620, with a crew not exactly renowned for temperance, with the result that many died from "dangerous sickness" before, or as soon as they arrived in West Africa. Jobson, however, was of the true pioneering stuff. Undaunted by the vicissitudes of his crew or the threats of the Portuguese, he boldly sailed up the Gambia with his ships, passing to his astonishment hippopotami, crocodiles, and storks, and finally arriving at the small fort to find that Thompson had already been killed. He took energetic action to vindicate the rights of the English, and remained trading on the river, afterwards returning to England to write his celebrated book, *The Golden Trade, or a Discovery of the River Gambia*, one of the most accurate books of travel written at a period when critical observation was unusual. This was the real commencement of

British enterprise on the Gambia, and from the time that a fort was built on James Island the English secured a footing, precarious at times, and were never subsequently entirely ousted from the country. Expedition followed expedition, each organised for the purpose of trade, and it was not until 1788, when the African Association was formed under the Presidency of Sir Joseph Banks, that the new era of scientific exploration dawned and real efforts were made to penetrate the inner mysteries of Africa.

One of the earliest actions of the new society was to send Major Houghton to the Gambia in an attempt to reach Timbuctu and to solve the problem of the course of the Niger, which was believed either to end in the rumoured Lake Chad, to join the Congo, or to be a tributary of the Nile, and by some was thought to be the same river as the Gambia itself. Previous explorers who had tried to reach the Niger had failed, and it was hoped that Houghton by journeying directly inland from the island of Goree (near the present town of Dakar) might be able in a journey directly across country to reach the river. He managed to cross the Senegal and then started through the arid country between that river and Timbuctu, but was deserted by his companions and left to perish in the desert. As nothing was known of his fate the African Association organised a fresh expedition in 1793 and placed it under the direction of Mungo Park, a young Scottish surgeon, who was to earn imperishable renown as one of the greatest of our explorers.

During seven months of constant danger Mungo Park pressed on towards the Niger, the great river that had been known by rumour since the days of Ptolemy. He was insulted, robbed, and imprisoned, but made his way forward with a faithful negro servant and a boy until, after severe hardships, he arrived at Segou and the Niger, and discovered that the stream flowed from west to east as Herodotus had thought. This was one of the greatest discoveries of modern

times, and Park returned to England on Christmas Day, 1797, and retired to his native Yarrow to write an account of his travels, which is one of the classics of our literature. He married and set to work to form a medical practice. But the spirit of adventure and the love of Africa are bred in the bone, and in 1805, with a party of Europeans, he was again in West Africa, determined to follow the great river to its mouth. Unfortunately the early commencement of the rainy season proved almost fatal to the expedition, and from the beginning of the rains to the disastrous end of the journey there is an almost daily record of the death of one or other of the soldiers. Park's spirit was undaunted and his efforts heroic. On one occasion he crossed a river no less than sixteen times during the day, carrying over the loads of soldiers who were unable, owing to weakness, to cross themselves. In spite of these exertions, with nearly all his friends and companions dead, the intrepid traveller remained in good health. When the expedition left Sansinding on its way down the Niger only five white men remained, accompanied by three slaves and an Arab interpreter and guide. These men had constantly to fight their way down the river, being attacked in the neighbourhood of Timbuctu and at various other places, until at the rapids of Busa they were overpowered by the natives, Park and his sole surviving European companions being drowned in the stream while attempting to escape.

The endeavours of Mungo Park, the great pioneer of Western Africa, were not in vain. He had shown the true course of the Niger, and though he failed to reach its mouth his noble enterprise proved an incentive to many other explorers. In 1821-22 a well-equipped expedition followed in the footsteps of Consul Ritchie and Captain George Lyon, who had attempted to reach the Lower Niger by crossing the Sahara from Tripoli which at that period carried on a flourishing trade with the powerful and rich Nigerian

countries of Bornu, Sokoto, and Nupe. This expedition was under the command of Dr. Walter Oudney, who died in Bornu after the discovery of Lake Chad, Commander Hugh Clapperton, and Major Dixon Denham. On their journey across the Sahara they witnessed gruesome evidences of the slave trade which had been carried on between the Sudan and North Africa for so many centuries, and Denham relates that the route to the Sudan was literally lined on either side with human remains. It was partly to put an end to the horror of these tragedies that British pioneers in Africa devoted their lives.

Arrived in Bornu, Denham sought permission to continue his journey to the River Shari, which runs into Lake Chad from the south. He joined a slave-raiding expedition, and during many months travelled throughout Bornu and added to our knowledge of that country. Meanwhile his companion Clapperton made a remarkable journey to the Niger, having left Kuka, the capital of Bornu, on December 14, 1823, to explore the Hausaland regions between Bornu and the great river. He passed through many of the largest cities in Nigeria, such as Kano, now the terminus of the railway from Lagos, and Sokoto.

In the following year another explorer, Major Alexander Laing, who had previously in a journey from Sierra Leone located approximately the source of the Niger, made a journey across the desert from Tripoli to Timbuctu, through the great oases of Ghat and Tuat, but he was killed three days after leaving Timbuctu, having been the first European to enter that city. In the meantime Clapperton had returned to England with a letter from the Sultan of Sokoto to George IV., asking that a consul and physicians might be sent to reside in the delta of the Niger. Clapperton proceeded with his servant, Richard Lander, to the Benin River, where the English had first entered Nigeria, journeyed through the Yoruba country to the Niger, turned back into the Nupi country,

and thence travelled to Sokoto, where he died of dysentery. Subsequently his servant, Richard Lander, accompanied by Lander's brother John, settled the problem of the Niger by descending the river from Busa, where Mungo Park had lost his life, to one of its outlets into the sea. He arrived in England in June, 1831, with the news that there were no insuperable difficulties in the way of ships entering the Niger and penetrating into the rich and densely peopled regions of Southern Nigeria. This discovery demonstrated to Europe the existence of a great navigable waterway leading into the heart of the continent and giving access to the Mohammedan empires of Equatorial Africa by means of a route far easier than the long and dangerous journey across the desert from the northern oases. It was a great and epoch-making event which dispelled at once the mass of conjecture and contradictory evidence as to the course of the Niger that up to that time had puzzled geographers. None, or very few, had believed that the so-called Oil Rivers of the south, which had been visited for several centuries, formed in reality the delta of the mysterious river of Timbuctu.

Both Richard and John Lander may be regarded as the pioneers of British influence in the Lower Niger. The former assisted by McGregor Laird, a shipbuilder of Liverpool and one of the earliest constructors of iron vessels, who built two paddle-wheel steamers and so started steam navigation on that river, made three trips up the Niger and was finally attacked by some savages near the Nun mouth, and died at Fernando Po. For some time, however, the discovery of the delta of the Niger seemed to be unlikely to be of great benefit to mankind, since expeditions sent from England to explore the region generally returned with the loss of a large number of men. One sent in 1841, containing a party of 145 Europeans, lost by sickness 49 out of the number, and it seemed as though the Niger could never be

utilised as a trading highway. But the indomitable and indefatigable McGregor Laird, with the true spirit of the pioneer, was determined that this great highway should not remain unused. In 1854 he built and equipped another vessel suitable for river navigation, and filled it with trading goods and missionaries. The expedition having ascended the river as far as the Benue, and having navigated the latter stream, returned to England without the loss of a single life. Laird thus demonstrated that with proper precautions Europeans were able to live in the delta regions, and by so doing he paved the way for the subsequent penetration of Nigeria from the south.

It was unfortunate, however, that these pioneering enterprises failed to convince the British Government that West Africa was a fruitful field for commercial enterprise. Even when it was known how rich and indeed civilised were many portions of the present Nigeria, the Government hesitated to lend its official sanction to any forward movement. On June 26, 1865, the House of Commons passed the following resolution: "That all further extension of territory or assumption of government or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes would be inexpedient, and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone." Circumstance, however, was already hammering on the gates of Africa, and subsequently the British Government willy-nilly were obliged to reverse the decision to leave Guinea to its own devices, partly owing to the insistent demands of traders and partly to the activities of other nations which finally forced the hands of reluctant officialdom.

One of the forces making for the establishment of British administration in West Africa was Mr. Goldie

Taubman, afterwards known as Sir George Taubman Goldie, whose name, in conjunction with that of Sir Frederick Lugard, stands out as one of the most distinguished makers of our West African Empire. Mr. Goldie Taubman, then a young officer in the Royal Engineers, who had already travelled in Africa, came to the Niger in 1877, grasped its possibilities, saw that the way to success clearly consisted in arranging terms with and amalgamating the various trading interests in the delta, and set about forming a large company to trade in West Africa. His organising capabilities were undoubtedly of a high order, and so marked was his success in handling delicate situations that within a few years he had formed a great trading company and had persuaded hostile French interests to accept shares in his company and to withdraw from the Lower Niger. By 1886 the Royal Niger Company, as it became, had received a charter and was entrusted with administrative duties in addition to its commercial activities. This beginning of our great empire in Nigeria was largely due to Sir George Goldie, who may be regarded as the West African equivalent of Cecil Rhodes.

In considering the opening up of West Africa, two remarkable facts stand out in contradistinction to the exploration of Eastern, Central, and South Africa. The first is that in a large part of West Africa there was a congeries of states of considerable civilisation which for many centuries had been in close contact with Northern Africa and its Mohammedan culture. A great deal was known, therefore, in Arab circles about West Africa, and it is really surprising that in Europe there was so little knowledge of the main problems of its topography. The second fact is that missionaries took comparatively little part in developing West Africa, although, of course, these are notable exceptions, such as Alfred Secker, Hugh Goldie of Old Calabar, and Mary Slessor, also of the Calabar mission field. But none of these Christian pioneers

of West Africa can be regarded as missionary travellers in the same category as Livingstone and Moffat.

The pioneers of Eastern Central Africa on the contrary, included a large number of missionary travellers, and though the east coast of Africa had been well known to Arab voyagers from a very early period, and close relations had been maintained with Southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf, very little was known about the mysterious central regions with their snow-capped mountains and great lakes, and practically nothing about South Africa generally, prior to the advent of Europeans.

§ 2

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA

As East and Central Africa have been opened to European intercourse mainly from the coast, it is desirable to commence with the first English pioneering voyages after the Portuguese, under Vasco da Gama, had doubled the Cape of Storms, subsequently renamed the Cape of Good Hope. For nearly one hundred years the Portuguese retained their supremacy in the Indian Ocean and practical monopoly of the trade of the East. Their ships, after passing the Cape, put in at the various East African ports, such as Mozambique and Mombasa, on their way to Goa and the Portuguese settlements, their only serious rivals being the French who, though late comers, soon became dangerous interlopers in the Eastern seas, and the Dutch, who eventually ousted the Portuguese from their trade and subsequently sought to obtain exclusive control of the commerce of the Indies. So far as Englishmen were concerned, it was not until Sir Francis Drake had rounded the Cape in 1580, in his ship the *Pelican*, on his homeward voyage after having circumnavigated the world, and had thus become the first known

Englishman to witness the glories of Table Mountain, that serious attempts were made to obtain a footing in the East.

In the year 1591, however, a trading expedition was equipped by certain merchants, who sent three tall ships by way of the Cape of Good Hope with instructions to establish a trade with India. These vessels were the *Penelope*, the *Marchant Royall*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, and they left Plymouth on April 10th, 1591, bravely furnished with goods, to which they added by taking a Portuguese caraval laden with "some sixty tunnes of wine, 1200 jarres of oyle . . . and with divers other necessities fit for our voyage"—truly a good beginning for a trading adventure. When the travellers arrived in Table Bay it was determined to send the *Marchant Royall* back to England, while the two other ships proceeded up the east coast; but the *Penelope* was lost in a storm so that the *Edward Bonaventure*, under the command of Captain James Lancaster, was obliged to proceed alone. Lancaster arrived at Zanzibar early in November, 1591, and is the first Englishman who set foot in East Africa, although ninety-nine years had elapsed since Vasco da Gama had entered the harbour of Zanzibar. The newcomers were received badly by the Portuguese who, as Hakluyt tells us, did all they could to poison the minds of the natives against these intruders. "These Moores informed us," states Hakluyt, "of the false and frightfull dealing of the Portugals towards us, which made them believe that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loved their safetie in no case to come neere us. Which they did onely to cut us off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey."

The attempts of the Portuguese to stifle English enterprise in the Indian seas were, however, entirely unsuccessful, for after a stay of nearly three months at Zanzibar, the expedition sailed for the Indies, and thus laid the foundations of British enterprise in the

East. Sir James Lancaster, the leader, was a hardy and trained seaman, who had served under Drake, in the *Edward Bonaventure*, against the Spanish Armada. He subsequently performed many notable voyages to India, and the results of his efforts led to the establishment of the East India Company, of which he became one of the first directors. From that time forward the Portuguese power waned in the East, until at length Portugal retained only the remnant of her former immense domain and a precarious sovereignty over the eastern coasts of Africa. This position was maintained until the early years of the nineteenth century, while the rulers of Oman in the south of Arabia gradually extended their territories along the African littoral until, having established themselves in Zanzibar, their successors eventually claimed possession of a great stretch of the coast and territory reaching inland as far as the great lakes of Central Africa. During the whole of this period British seamen, adventurers, and traders, constantly crossed the Indian Ocean, and established their supremacy in the East; but they generally passed the East African coasts and paid little or no attention to their development.

The position was an anomalous one. On the one hand there was the Arab power of Oman gradually acquiring a predominating influence in these regions—an influence which subsequently passed to Zanzibar itself when the joint sovereignty was divided—and on the other the moribund and decaying sovereignty of the Portuguese, which was confined to a few ports and isolated trading posts in the interior; all real semblance of authority having vanished after they had been expelled from Zanzibar and Mombasa by the Imam of Muscat (Oman). The first Englishman to make a careful survey of the East African coasts was Captain W. Fitzwilliam Owen, who, in 1823, realising the importance of Lourenço Marques with its magnificent harbour of Delagoa Bay, hoisted the

British flag and entered into treaty relations with the neighbouring chieftains. The Portuguese did nothing effective to assert their claims, except that they removed the British flag during Captain Owen's absence. Captain Owen was also responsible for, or if not responsible at least he connived at, the hoisting of the Union Jack at Mombasa in December, 1823—an action that was disavowed by the Government.

But the attention that was soon focused upon East Africa, owing to the growing influence of the Arabs upon the coast, eventually caused the British authorities to take some definite action to protect their trading interests, and in 1842 Captain Hamerton of the Indian Army was appointed Consul and Agent of the East India Company at Zanzibar, and the consulate flag was hoisted on September 29, 1843. Hamerton was the first of a number of distinguished representatives of British power in East Africa who did much to open the coasts to European enterprise. The most distinguished of these was Sir John Kirk, Livingstone's friend and companion, who, during a long and honourable career in Africa did so much to consolidate British interests and to abolish the slave trade in Zanzibar. When Livingstone started on his expedition to Lake Nyasa in 1859, Dr. Kirk was given a position as physician and naturalist, and he was one of the party of four Englishmen—Livingstone and his brother Charles, and Edward Rae being the others—who discovered the lake in September of that year. His experiences during these and other journeys, made him anxious to return to Africa, and in 1866 he was appointed Acting Surgeon to the British Agency at Zanzibar. This was the beginning of an official connection with Zanzibar which lasted for twenty-one years. During almost the whole of that time Kirk retained so commanding an influence over the Sultan that he could have facilitated the entry of Great Britain upon the mainland had the British Government not been loath to assume fresh responsibility in

Africa. When the Sultan offered the exploitation of his territories to Sir William Mackinnon in 1878, it was Kirk who had persuaded him not to grant these lands to any other power.

While Kirk was honourably maintaining British prestige at Zanzibar, in spite of discouragement from official circles, another English pioneer was working on behalf of British interests but from a different standpoint. This was Sir Lloyd Williams Mathews, who became the Sultan's right-hand man and Prime Minister, and eventually died at Zanzibar on October 11, 1901. Mathews as a midshipman in the navy had first seen active service in Africa during the Ashanti campaign of 1873-4, and he was afterwards engaged in suppressing the slave trade on the coast of East Africa. Here he came into contact with Sultan Bargash, who appointed him to the command of his troops. In this position Mathews used his energies in the suppression of the slave trade, and although appointed Consul in 1891 he preferred to retain his independence in the service of the Sultan. He proved a strong and capable official and his prestige remained unshaken and his name revered for strict justice and honest administration.

Both Kirk and Mathews will long be remembered for their work in connection with the spread of British influence in East Africa. They ably assisted the efforts of two Scotsmen, Sir William Mackinnon and Sir George Mackenzie, who were instrumental in extending British trade and in founding our East African Empire. The former went to India in 1847 and engaged in the coasting trade. Together with Robert Mackenzie he founded the firm of Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co., and in 1856 the Calcutta and Burmah Steam Navigation Company, now the British India Company. In connection with this venture he became actively interested in the extension of trade in the Persian Gulf and between India, Aden, and Zanzibar.

It is not possible here to relate the story of the founding of British East Africa, but it must be stated that the creation of the Imperial British East Africa Company, the forerunner of the colony, was due to the initiative of Mackinnon, who gained the confidence of the Sultan of Zanzibar and obtained from him a lease of territory stretching 1150 miles along the coast and inland as far as the Congo Free State. The Sultan's somewhat shadowy claims to the interior were certainly set off by substantial rights along the littoral and only the hesitation of the British Government prevented the consummation of a grandiose dream and undertaking comparable with the great schemes of Cecil Rhodes. Mackinnon's personal influence in East Africa was second only to that of Kirk and Mathews, while in the Persian Gulf regions his enterprise as a merchant pioneer was unrivalled. His activities "ever directed to the extension of British commerce and civilisation were indeed measured by parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude," and when Sir Bartle Frere, during his celebrated mission to Zanzibar to negotiate fresh and more stringent treaties with the rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat, sent Sir Lewis Pelley to the Persian Gulf, he told him to "look out for a little Scotchman called Mackinnon, as you will find him the mainspring of all British enterprise there."

Mackinnon was closely associated with Sir George Mackenzie, who in 1888 arrived at Zanzibar to take over the affairs of the Imperial British East Africa Company at one of the most critical times in the history of the coast, and by his able administration prevented a most dangerous situation from developing. During the suppression of the slave trade the British missionaries had harboured runaway slaves at their stations, and the Arabs were, in consequence, on the eve of revolt. Mackenzie averted this danger, and conciliated the slave-owners at his own expense, paying them as compensation no less than £3500,

an act which Sir Charles Euan Smith, then Consul-General, described as of unparalleled generosity and philanthropy. As head of the new company, Sir George Mackenzie took active steps to develop the mainland by introducing Persian agriculturists; improving the harbour and town of Mombasa; and sending caravans into the interior, as well as supporting actively the work of exploration which was proceeding throughout the territory.

Zanzibar itself formed the most convenient basis for the exploration of the interior, and it was from this centre that most of the great exploring expeditions proceeded.

The pioneers of discovery in Central Africa include some of the greatest names in geographical exploration, and they are by no means confined to those of British birth, for they include two German missionaries, in the service of the Church Missionary Society, Dr. Ludwig Krapf and Herr Rebmann, who did so much in the exploration of the Kilimanjaro and coastal districts, Baron Karl von der Decken, Emin Pasha, the ineffable Dr. Karl Peters, and many others who were working for the interests of Germany in East Africa. Here, however, we are only concerned with British pioneers, who, at any rate, generally led the way for others to follow. It was thus with two promising young lieutenants in the Indian Army, Richard Burton and John Speke, whose names are indelibly graven on the walls of time. Burton had commenced his explorations by a journey to Abyssinia in 1854, disguised as an Arab merchant, while Speke, who had been appointed to obtain supplies for the expedition, had started towards the interior but was obliged to return owing to the hostility of the Somalis. In June, 1857, both left the coast opposite Zanzibar in a new endeavour to reach the head-waters of the Nile by way of the rumoured lakes of the interior, and their journey marks one of the great epochs of African history, for it started the scientific exploration of the equatorial lakes.

The credit of commencing this work belongs to Burton, but its continuation was mainly due to Speke, who was, perhaps, more suited for rough travel among the Bantu tribes than the far more accomplished and erudite Burton, whose interests were mainly centred in Mohammedan civilisation and the age-long contact between east and west. Of a more rugged, impetuous, and uncertain temperament than Speke, Burton was more suited to deal with people whose virtues and vices he thoroughly understood and probably had little interest in the unsophisticated natives of Central Africa. So it happened that when Burton and Speke on their return from their discovery of Lake Tanganyika, reached a point about half-way to Zanzibar, Burton, in ill-health, decided to remain among some Arab traders, while Speke started off on a new quest towards a rumoured lake in the north, and thus reached the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, which he claimed as the true source of the Nile. Speke's discovery was of fundamental importance, and he returned to England in the spring of 1859 to claim the credit of his discovery. The relations between the two men, already strained, were accentuated by Speke's haste to publish an account of his explorations.

In April, 1860, Speke, in company with Captain James Augustus Grant, left England on an expedition to ascertain if Lake Victoria were indeed the source of the Nile, and after a journey of very great hardship the two travellers reached Karagwe, where Grant was left behind, while Speke pushed on to Uganda, where he was subsequently joined by his companion. Speke went northwards, discovered the outlet of the Nile from Lake Victoria at the Ripon Falls, and on February 15, 1863, he met at Gondokoro another great explorer, Samuel Baker, accompanied by his heroic wife, who had advanced southwards from Khartoum.

The brilliant work of Speke and Grant in discovering the sources of the Nile, though as we now

know these were not the ultimate fountain of that great river, showed the way to the very centre of the continent, where the various types of man, fauna, and flora meet. Speke's narrative of his residence at the court of Mtesa, the bloodthirsty tyrant who was then King of Buganda, is one of the most fascinating books of travel, and is a classic of adventure. His account of Buganda can only be matched for interest and vividness by James Bruce's record of his stay in Abyssinia nearly a hundred years earlier.

The discovery of Uganda was one of those milestones in African history that mark a new epoch. It had been preceded by much pioneering work in the Nile regions in an endeavour to trace the true sources of the waters which annually provided Egypt with its fertility. The great pioneer of this work was James Bruce of Kinnaird, one of the most remarkable men of his age, who was misunderstood and disbelieved by his contemporaries, but whose memory has been triumphantly vindicated by other travellers. James Bruce was born in 1730 and from an early age he showed the greatest interest in geographical discovery. He first visited Spain and Portugal, where, by examining the manuscripts in the Escorial, he was led to study Arabic, and from this language his attention was attracted to the ancient classical tongue of Abyssinia, then a country almost as fabulous and distant as it was in the days of Prester John, and known only through the account of one or two Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. Bruce was appointed Consul at Algiers, a post of great difficulty and danger, and being greatly interested in archæological research, he visited many of the ruins of Barbary. In July, 1768, he arrived in Egypt where he conciliated the Mameluke rulers by his skill in medicine and a pretended knowledge of astrology. Journeying down the Red Sea, he landed at Massowah, the port of Abyssinia, a place described as little better than a den of assassins, and on November 15, 1769, he quitted the coast bound

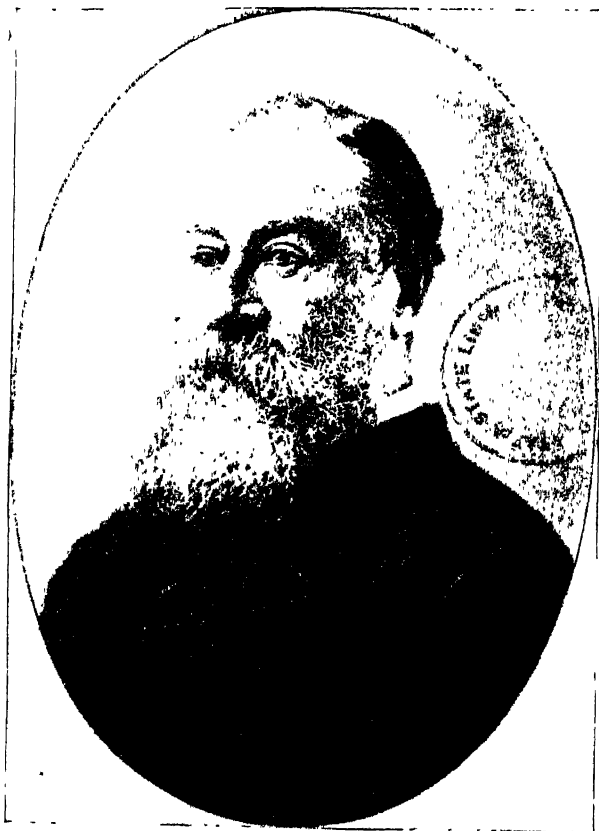
for Gondar, which he reached three months later. It was nearly 150 years since any European had journeyed in Abyssinia, except a French surgeon and three Franciscan monks, who never returned, and to penetrate into that fanatical and barbarous kingdom required at that time great daring, skill, and tact. By his physical strength and adroitness in manly exercise, his presence of mind, his long experience of the East, and "by his very foibles of excessive self-assertion and warmth of temper," he was fitted beyond most men to overawe a barbarous people, and he thus established himself in the favour of the court and was allowed to join various warlike expeditions, during one of which he arrived at one of the outlets of the Blue Nile from Lake Tsana, and thus established the source of that river, although it had previously been visited by a Jesuit, Pedro Pacz, in 1615.

Encouraged by this great discovery, made when confronted by hourly dangers, Bruce marched to Sennar, the capital of Nubia, and finally reached England where, although he was at first received with attention, his almost incredible but nevertheless true stories, and his blunt and uncompromising frankness, led to his veracity being questioned and his being taunted by all the little dogs that delight in worrying a lion. He received no honour from the king, and retired in high dudgeon to his estate in Scotland, where, some years later, he wrote his great epic of African travel, unfortunately at a period when he had forgotten or mixed many of the details. Nevertheless in every main particular Bruce's *Travels* is true and it remains one of the great works descriptive of pioneering endeavour.

There are many features in Bruce's career and character that are closely similar to those of Sir Richard Burton. He is described by Fanny Burney as one of the most awe-inspiring of men. "His grand air, gigantic height, and forbidding brow," she stated, "awed everybody to silence." Bruce of

Kinnaird and John Speke are the two great pioneering explorers of East Central Africa, and their work was carried on by many other adventurers. One of the most notable was Sir Samuel Baker, who, with his intrepid wife, did so much to open the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to European civilisation. Baker was a mighty hunter in addition to being a great traveller, and his love of sport led him ever forward into new and unknown regions. He first spent some years in Ceylon exploring many of its most inaccessible regions, but in 1861 he determined to push into Central Africa from Khartoum, in an endeavour to meet Speke and Grant, who were expected to reach the White Nile from the south, and he made a preliminary exploring journey along the Atbara and Rehad before leaving Khartoum on December 18, 1862, in three small vessels. On the arrival of the two travellers at Gondokoro, Baker placed his boats at their disposal, while Speke gave him full particulars of the Victoria source of the Nile. Baker then started southwards accompanied by his wife, and eventually reached a south-eastern point of a lake which he named Albert Nyanza, followed its coast until he reached the Nile, and completed Speke's magnificent work. He records in his journal how he "went to the water's edge, drank a deep draught, and thanked God most sincerely for having guided him when all hope of success was lost." The discovery of Albert Nyanza was a most remarkable feat, and in 1869 Baker was appointed Governor of the Equatorial Nile basin, and was the first Englishman to undertake that high office.

It is not possible to describe the pioneers who have made the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A dozen names come readily to mind of men who have given their lives or sacrificed their health in the service of the Empire, such as General Gordon, the hero of Khartoum, who succeeded Baker as Governor, and of great administrators or soldiers, such as Lord Cromer, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Reginald Wingate, who have been



To face page 218
Sir Samuel Baker. [1821-1893].

engaged in the same work. Nor is it possible to do justice to the many pioneers of East Africa, who as travellers, administrators, missionaries, and traders, have helped to build that great empire. We must, however, mention briefly a few outstanding names in connection with the latter work.

The solution of the Nile puzzle was still in an unsatisfactory state of uncertainty even after the travels of Burton and Speke, and it was by no means certain that Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika did not consist of one vast sheet of water. Livingstone believed that they were one, and it was not until this great missionary-traveller had visited the northern end of Tanganyika that they were proved to be two separate lakes. Fired by the newly aroused enthusiasm for discovery, Henry Morton Stanley, a young Welshman who had been brought up in the United States and had subsequently accompanied Lord Napier of Magdala's Abyssinian Expedition as a newspaper correspondent, determined to solve some of the outstanding problems. He introduced a new power into geographical discovery, for unlike previous travellers he was the representative of newspaper enterprise and was supported therefore by large funds and sufficient equipment. In January, 1871, he arrived at Zanzibar, marched into the heart of Africa, and on November 10th, "found" Livingstone at Ujiji, not far from the present terminus of the Tanganyika railway. His book, *How I Found Livingstone*, had an enormous sale. In 1874 an expedition organised by an American and an English newspaper (*The New York Herald* and *Daily Telegraph*), left Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar, on November 17, determined to complete, if possible, the work of former explorers. Stanley circumnavigated Lake Victoria, made friends with King Mtesa, and thence passed down Lake Tanganyika and finally reached the mouth of the Congo, having crossed the continent. This remarkable journey placed him in the forefront of geographical

discoverers and led to the founding of the Congo Free State, although he had been forestalled by Verney Lovett Cameron, who had crossed Africa from Bagamoyo to Benguela in 1875.

After the discoveries of Livingstone, Stanley, Burton, Speke, and Cameron, the story of East African pioneering is chiefly concerned with the opening of the present Kenya Colony, and British Nyasaland, and the occupation of Uganda. In this work Joseph Thomson, a young Scottish geologist, and numerous missionaries and traders, were the chief actors. Thomson, who in 1878-79 joined Keith Johnston's expedition to Lake Tanganyika and took command on the death of the former, afterwards carried out some remarkable journeys through the Masai country and visited Mount Kenya. The country he crossed on this occasion was practically unknown. He had to pass through a region inhabited by dangerous and warlike tribes. In so doing he discovered the Great Rift Valley of Lake Naivasha and Lake Baringo, and he was also the first to make a successful journey to Mount Kenya, which had already been vaguely described by the missionary Krapf. He subsequently, in 1891, explored the region between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo, his various journeys adding greatly to our knowledge of East and Central Africa.

The actual pioneering work of discovery was ably seconded and made permanent by missionaries and traders. Uganda was mainly opened by the efforts of missionaries whose zeal had been fired by the possibility of doing good civilising work in a country whose inhabitants were of a much higher type than those in other parts of Central Africa. Among English pioneers the great names of Bishop Hannington and Alexander Mackay stand out as beacons in the tale of African missionary enterprise. Parties reached Buganda in June, 1877, and February, 1879, after laborious journeys from the coast and through Egypt and the Sudan. Alexander Mackay earned a great

reputation for his mechanical skill (he actually made the coffin in which King Mtesa was buried) and is the pioneer missionary of Uganda. In 1882 he was joined by James Hannington, who was subsequently consecrated as Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, a man whose fearless bravery gained him the name of "Lion-hearted." Hannington was murdered by order of King Mwanga in 1885. The tale of the rival missions in Uganda forms a lurid episode in Central African history. The effects of the quarrels between the Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, and Protestant zealots were at least unfortunate, but they served to focus attention on this part of the continent, and they hastened the completion of the pioneering work of discovery and exploration. The Imperial British East Africa Company was pressed to extend its administration, partly owing to the activity of German explorers, and Captain Lugard, afterwards well known for his work in West Africa and elsewhere, was sent with Mr. F. J. Jackson to East Africa. In view of the activities of Karl Peters, Jackson, believing that "the prize of the contest was still there and would fall to the lot of the boldest," hastened to Mengo, where King Mwanga had his court, and the result of this visit was that Uganda became British territory on July 1, 1890. Lugard then went to Mengo to initiate the work of administration.

In Nyasaland, where Charles Frederick Mackenzie had been established as Bishop of Central Africa, the position was critical owing to the activities of Arab slave-dealers. Mackenzie, in charge of the Universities Mission, which was first founded near Zomba, had died of fever and the mission was obliged to withdraw to Zanzibar. Other missionaries followed at a later date, and subsequently the island of Likomo in Lake Nyasa became the headquarters of the Universities Mission. The Livingstonia Mission, which was started on the proposal of Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, South Africa, himself a great pioneer of practical Christianity,

was established by the Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Robert Laws, one of the great leaders of Christianity in Africa, who arrived as medical missionary in 1875, is still head of the mission. Arising out of this mission a company was formed for trading purposes and this body, now known as the African Lakes Corporation, has performed a great work in extending British enterprise in Nyasaland. It was founded by Mr. Fred L. M. Moir and his brother John, two merchants of London who were fired by Livingstone's appeal to business men to help in opening the vast continent and in putting down the slave trade. Their headquarters were established in the Shiré Highlands and were called Mandala—a name which came to denote among the natives any station of the African Lakes Corporation and to be regarded as synonymous with fair dealing and decent treatment. The Moirs performed a great work in British Central Africa, and the finest testimony to their services was given to Mr. Fred Moir when he revisited the country in 1921. "Although the people of this country," stated a native address, "are called the children of Sikumoyo (Mr. Moir), during the Great War the white men who came to fight in German East Africa were called children of Sikumoyo."

The work of civilising Central Africa is, of course, still proceeding, but although most of the early pioneers are dead, there are still some with us. In addition to Sir Frederick Lugard and Mr. F. Moir, the names of two distinguished men, celebrated for their work both as travellers and administrators, remain to be mentioned. These are Sir Harry Johnston and Sir Alfred Sharpe. Both have performed notable work for the Empire, and have proved that the spacious days of active pioneering have by no means passed. The former, who is one of our most learned linguists, started his African career by travelling in the north of the continent. In 1884 he commanded the expedition sent by the Royal Society to Mount Kilimanjaro,

and was one of the most active of the treaty-makers of that stirring period; he, Dr. Karl Peters, and General Mathews, on behalf of the Sultan of Zanzibar, being engaged in a race to secure territory in the Kilimanjaro district, and sometimes covering almost identical ground.¹

Johnston, if he had been actively supported by the British Government, might have secured this valuable region for the Empire, but the higher politics of Europe then demanded the recognition of German aspirations in East Africa. Subsequently Johnston led the expedition to Nyasaland in 1889 which was instrumental in founding the British Central Africa Protectorate, and in 1889-1901 he was sent on a special mission to Uganda to investigate its resources and to evolve a permanent system of administration. The results of these journeys have been embodied in Sir Harry Johnston's numerous and well-known books. He was succeeded in British Central Africa by Sir Alfred Sharpe, who in 1894 took over the work of administration and subsequently became Governor of Nyasaland in 1907.

§ 3

SOUTH AFRICA

The story of the opening of South Africa by European enterprise is perhaps richer in romantic detail than that of any other part of the British Empire, with the possible exception of Canada. Three nations—Portuguese, Dutch, and British—have played their part in establishing civilisation south of the Zambesi and have left their records on the scroll of South African history, as well as in the nomenclature of the country, and in its architectural and archæological remains. Such

¹ See Keltie's *Partition of Africa*. An example of one of these treaties is given in Lewin's *Germans and Africa*, p. 173.

names as Saldanha Bay, formerly applied to Table Bay, but now to a bay farther north, Algoa Bay, Delagoa Bay, and Lourenço Marques ; Graaf-Reinet, Pretoria, Uitenhage, Paarl, Swellendam, Stellenbosch, Pietermaritzburg, and Bloemfontein ; Grahamstown, Cathcart, Durban, Craddock, Somerset East, Port Elizabeth, and King William's Town ; recall either those who have helped to build up the new country or some natural feature of the new land ; or served to remind the early settlers of the country from which they came. In the field of archæology the scanty remains of early Portuguese domination at such places as Angra Pequena,¹ St. Croix Island in Algoa Bay, and Lourenço Marques, where the Portuguese erected stone crosses as the emblem of the Christian power or built forts as the practical evidences of their temporal dominion ; the Dutch castle at Cape Town and the charming Dutch colonial architecture in its neighbourhood and elsewhere ; or the early examples of British military architecture, such as Fort Frederick at Port Elizabeth ; show the successive stages of European intrusion in South Africa. It is certain, therefore, that a country so full of historical evidences must be particularly rich in its pioneers. The story of the men who have made South Africa is full, not only of striking scenes and stirring events, particularly in connection with the long fight to subdue and control the native tribes, but is also rich in the names of great men—soldiers, administrators, and statesmen—and hardy pioneers who have fought stubbornly to maintain a foothold and independence while building new homes in a singularly fascinating and interesting country.

The story of South Africa is a record of constant progress from the coasts towards the interior—slow and almost imperceptible at times, but more rapid as the initial difficulties of crossing the mountain

¹ The cross erected by Diaz at Angra Pequena fell down about the year 1856. Part was taken to the museum at Cape Town and part to Lisbon as mementoes of the first contact of white men with South Africa.

ranges and subduing the native races were overcome, and as fresh territories, almost boundless in their extent, were opened to the gaze of the pioneers. European intrusion into South Africa proceeded chiefly from three points on the coast. In the days of the Portuguese it was mainly from the shores of Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) by way of the river valleys leading towards the great plateau of Rhodesia ; but later when the Dutch had established themselves at Cape Town it was chiefly from the neighbourhood of Table Bay in a north-easterly direction towards the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Later still when British rule was exchanged for Dutch domination, progress was by the same avenue of expansion as well as from Port Elizabeth into the eastern portions of the present Cape Province and from Durban into the interior districts of Natal. Generally speaking, however, the process of expansion has been north-eastwards over the mountain ranges and across the Karroo to the High Veld of the interior and the great plateau stretching northwards to the Zambesi. Various factors have contributed to this expansion—unsatisfactory economic and political conditions at Cape Town, love of adventure, the desire to escape from foreign domination and what was regarded as intolerable administrative control, and, above all, during the more recent periods, the discovery of diamonds, gold, and other minerals which acted as a magnet drawing the adventurous ever forward towards the heart of Africa in the hope of carving out fortunes in the unexplored wilds.

South Africa is ushered into the realm of modern history through the exploring activities of one of those great Portuguese seamen who did so much to lay the riches of the world at the feet of humanity. Bartolomeo Diaz, who in 1486 set forth on a mighty enterprise fraught with consequences as great to the world as the voyage of Columbus, was inspired by a man then dead—Prince Henry of Portugal—who

was himself half an Englishman ¹ and by the example of the band of adventurers of whom he had become the patron and inspiration. Creeping down the shores of Western Africa, Diaz passed all the points previously gained by the Portuguese. Driven before a violent storm, he sailed round the southern end of South Africa, discovered Algoa Bay, and burst into a sea that had never before been sailed by white men. Here Diaz turned back, and returning to Portugal he was again sent south under Vasco da Gama, but for some reason he left the expedition at Cape Verde, so that Da Gama proceeded alone on his great voyage of discovery into the Indian Ocean. Da Gama, more fortunate than Diaz, after landing at the Bay of St. Helena, where he came into contact with the Bushmen, rounded the Cape of Good Hope "with less storm and perils than the sailors expected from the opinion they had of it, which had caused them to give it the name of Cape of Storms"; landed again at Mossel Bay, where he first saw the Hottentots; passed the coasts of Natal on the Feast of the Nativity; and finally crossed the Indian Ocean and arrived at Calicut. This, the great pioneering voyage of South Africa, which opened the coasts from Table Bay to Mombasa to European enterprise, has been sung in the great epic of South Africa and India, the *Lusiads* of the Portuguese poet Luis de Camoens.

In South-East Africa the Portuguese often suffered incredible hardships, and though the names of many of their pioneers have faded from the pages of history, the memory of their sufferings and of the deeds they accomplished is still enshrined in the moving narratives of shipwreck, peril, and adventure that make up the annals of this portion of the coast. They are told with great effect in the Records of South-Eastern Africa, edited by the South African historian Theal—one of the most moving and fascinating accounts of

¹ Henry the Navigator was the son of Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

early pioneering effort that has ever been written. Here it is only possible to recall the names of two early explorers ; the one, Francesco Barreto, a valiant soldier and gentleman, the other, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a gallant soldier of the Cross and the first Christian martyr in South Africa.

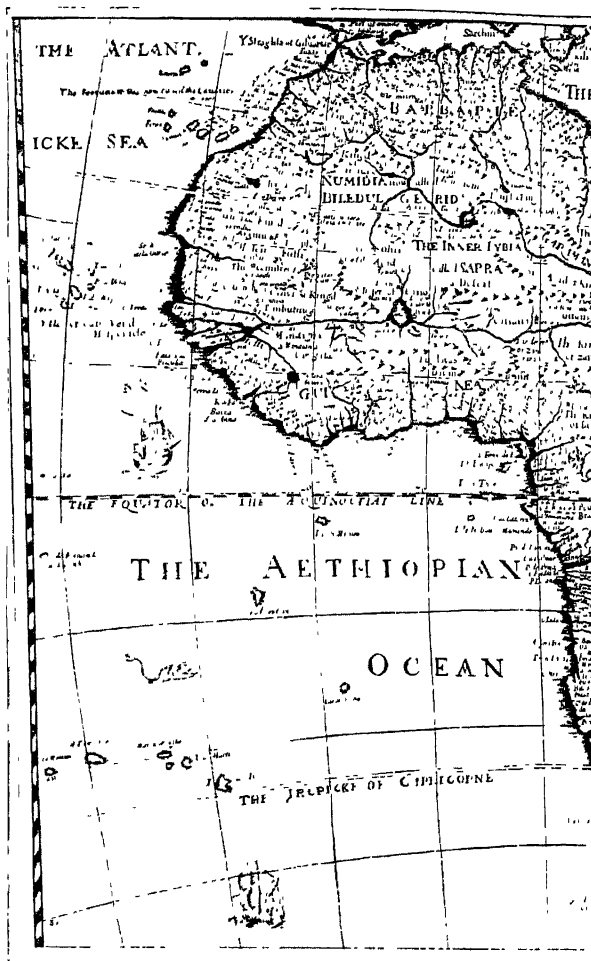
It is difficult to realise that when the English were still fighting the Wars of the Roses, the Portuguese were busy exploring the waterways leading into South-Eastern Africa, and that long before any permanent British settlement had been made in America a small army had been led up the Zambesi in search of the fabled mines of Monomotapa, represented to-day by the Great Zimbabwe and other ruins of Rhodesia. When the Portuguese first arrived in South Africa a great Bantu kingdom or confederation of states occupied the greater part of the present Southern Rhodesia, and made its influence felt over the surrounding districts. This region, known as Monomotapa, was ruled by a negro potentate whom the Portuguese desired to propitiate as his hands were supposed to hold the keys that would open the golden stores of the interior. Barreto arrived in Mozambique in 1570 and started on his long journey inland ; but as he passed through an area of mangrove swamps and unhealthy marshes, it is not surprising that his slow journey towards the interior was marked by a constant succession of disasters. Failing to placate the great Monomotapa and encumbered by many sick and wounded, Barreto was forced to retreat, and he finally reached Sena, on the banks of the Zambesi, a broken and disillusioned man, only to die there and to be buried in the chapel of St. Marçal "where, as the building was full of fresh corpses so that there was no room for him, it was necessary to make a grave crossways along the altar."

About ten years earlier the first missionary martyr of South Africa—Gonçalo da Silveira—laid down his life in an attempt to convert the natives. Leaving

Sofala, the ancient port that led to the riches of Monomotapa, Father Gonçalo travelled inland to Tete on the Zambesi, and at length arrived at the capital of Monomotapa, where he went unarmed among the naked warriors and became at first a great favourite with their monarch. Unfortunately the novelty of the presence of two unarmed priests—for Father Gonçalo was accompanied by a companion—soon wore away, and he was murdered during his sleep by order of Monomotapa, who had become convinced that Gonçalo was a wizard. Here we must leave our Portuguese pioneers, but not without paying tribute to the really remarkable work they did in the exploration of South-East Africa. Much of their pioneering work was subsequently forgotten during the dark days of stagnation that followed the earlier period of activity, and only a tardy and somewhat grudging recognition has been given to their enterprise; but it must be remembered that long before Dutch or British settled at Cape Town, the Portuguese had done much to open a way into the heart of Africa.¹

With the advent of the Dutch at Cape Town there dawned a new era in the exploration of South Africa. Hitherto development had proceeded from the east coast towards the interior. It was now to pass over and beyond the rampart of mountains surrounding Cape Town, to cross the Great Karroo, and to spread eastwards along its surface, and to extend northwards into the almost boundless regions beyond the Vaal. Generally speaking, England remained indifferent to the value of the Cape. Not even the enthusiastic description left by Drake, or the pioneering efforts of two officers of the East India Company, Andrew Shillinge and Humphrey FitzHerbert, was sufficient to arouse more than a passing interest in what was, in reality, the strategic key to the Indian Ocean. When Shillinge on July 3, 1620, took possession of

¹ This is conclusively shown on many of the sixteenth and seventeenth century maps of Africa.



NOTE ON MAP OF AFRICA.

Map of Africa, engraved by Robert Vaughan in 1722, founded upon earlier Portuguese and Dutch maps, notably the position of two great lakes (probably made to issue; Lake Chad, which is called Lake F Shari running into Lake Chad from the south; the Limpopo and other rivers appear to be much more Bantu state of the same name in South Central Africa. The course of the Zambesi is shown, and in Delisle's map are shown, together with the Royaume des Rue Royaume de Gingiro (Jinja at the north end of Lake known of Africa before the era of the nineteenth century than intelligent anticipations.

and published in Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*. This map, is of great interest as it shows approximately the position of Lake Tanganyika and Nyasa, out of which the Nile is shown; the great marshes on the Niger; the River Zambesi, which is inadequately shown, as the most important; and Monomotapa, the capital of the country. In maps of a slightly later date the correct position and shape of Lake Tanganyika (Ruanda), les Massequaies (Masai), and the Victoria. These names show how much was known by early travellers, and they were doubtless more

able Bay in the name of King James, and stated that this great country, if it were well discovered, would be kept in subjection with a few men and little charge, considering how the inhabitants are but naked men, without a leader or policy," the British Solomon turned aside from South Africa and gave his august patronage to the pioneering ventures of Sir William Alexander and others in the New World. It is true that Table Bay became a port of call on the route to India, and that many voyagers, English, Dutch, or Portuguese, landed there for water and to leave letters; but no definite step at settlement was made until the Dutch took possession on April 7, 1652. The records of some of these voyagers are engraved on the so-called post-office stones that have been found in Cape Town and its neighbourhood, under which the seamen placed their letters for safety to await the arrival of the next homeward-bound ship; but until the wreck of the Dutch East India Company's ship *Haarlem* in 1648, and the advice subsequently tendered by its captain that a permanent supply station should be founded at Table Bay, no practical steps were taken to establish Europeans in the country.

The first Dutch pioneer, Jan van Riebeeck, may be regarded as the Father of South Africa. His statue at the beginning of Adderley Street, Cape Town, stands sentinel at the principal entrance into the sub-continent. The first commander at the Cape was a man of indomitable perseverance who had served as a ship's surgeon in the service of the Dutch East India Company. The varied knowledge he had thus gained in many parts of the world, with his energy of character, fitted him for the task of founding and administering an infant colony; and although it was not at first the intention of the Dutch company to establish anything more than a calling-station on the way to India, force of circumstance soon compelled them to abandon their original intention and to introduce settlers in order that the Dutch fleets might

be properly victualled. In the laying out of the gardens and farms of the colonists, Van Riebeeck was specially active, introducing the vine from Germany, superintending the plantation of trees, and supervising the erection of homes for the settlers. For ten years he busied himself at Cape Town, and during that period set his seal on South African history, and he stands forth as the earliest pioneer of settlement.

Van Riebeeck was followed by a succession of notable governors who sometimes strove for a forward policy of expansion and sometimes, on orders from the company, did all they could to restrict settlement to the immediate neighbourhood of Cape Town. The memory of one of the most remarkable, Simon van der Stel, is still revered throughout South Africa for his active work in the extension of the new colony. Simon van der Stel was a shrewd and far-seeing administrator, who had almost been born in the service of the company, his father being Governor at Mauritius. A keen lover of agriculture and country life, he was eminently successful in the establishment of new farms for the supply of the Dutch ships, and the great wine farm at Constantia, near Wynberg, and the famous avenue of oaks in Cape Town remain as memorials to the energy of the Governor. Simon van der Stel stands out as one of the great figures of the Dutch occupation, and as the embodiment of the benevolent despot who was the father of all his people. His name is enshrined in the town of Stellenbosch (named after Stel and his wife, whose maiden name was Bosch) and Simon's Bay. Simon van der Stel was succeeded by his son Adrian, who unfortunately fell foul of the burghers and was consequently recalled to Holland. It was during the rule of these two governors that many of the most famous pioneers of the Dutch period arrived at Cape Town and laid the foundations of the noted Dutch families who are now settled throughout South Africa—the Krugers, De Wets, Bothas, and

many others.¹ These men are the real pioneers of the Dutch period.

With the conquest of the Cape by Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig in 1795, and the second British conquest by Sir David Baird in 1806, an entirely new element was introduced into the country. Hitherto the population had been almost exclusively Dutch or French Huguenots, who in the course of time had become Dutchmen, with the exception of a few travellers, English, French, and German, or men of British race or extraction who had entered the Dutch service. Among the latter was Colonel Robert Gordon, who explored the Orange River in 1779, when he hoisted the Dutch flag in the middle of the stream (then called the Gariep or Groote River), and named it Orange River in honour of the Stadtholder of Holland. Among the travelling Englishmen was Sir John Barrow, who came to the Cape as secretary to the Earl of Macartney. He traversed the greater part of the colony and wrote an account of the country which is accurate wherever it is not tinged by political prejudice. In this book Barrow discusses the works of earlier travellers such as Tachard, Valentyn, Kolbe, Sparrman, Thunberg, Paterson, and Le Vaillant, whose books are classics of South African travel. He maintains that the last never crossed the Orange River and that his "Koraguas, Kabobiquas, and Hoosuanas were creatures of the brain." Barrow, who was born in 1764, had a distinguished career at the Cape, penetrated into Namaqualand, married a lady connected with some of the leading Dutch families, and finally served as Secretary to the Admiralty during a period

¹ Among the early pioneers and founders of families the following may be mentioned: Jacob Kruger, who arrived in 1713; Jan Kotze (1701); Jan Cornelisz Botha, Jacobus de Wet (1695); Pierre Rousseau (1690); Johannes Pretorius, Adrian Prinsloo, Jean Prieur de Plessis (1688); Pierre Joubert (1688); Pierre Cronje (1698); Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob de Villiers (1689); Jacob Cloete (1652); Michael Cornelis Smuts (1692); and François du Toit (1690). Complete pedigrees of many of these old families are contained in the *Geslacht-Register der Oude Kaapsche Familien*, published at the Cape in two volumes in 1894.

of forty years. He describes the Kaffirs as "the finest specimens of the human race I ever saw." Other, but enforced travellers were the unfortunate survivors of the ill-fated East Indiaman *Grosvenor*, which was wrecked in 1782 on the coast of Kaffraria, most of whom perished during their journey to reach the outposts of civilisation, although some, such as John Hynes, managed to reach a remote Dutch farm. This celebrated wreck was only one of a series that have occurred on the storm-bound coasts of Africa, the narratives of which, in Dutch and Portuguese, make such moving records of hardships endured in a savage country.

There was now introduced into the colony a new administrative class amongst whom some of the early British governors deserve to be recorded as pioneers on account of the active support they gave to the exploration and development of the country. Sir David Baird, who succeeded in bringing about the capitulation of Cape Town and the surrender of General Janssens and his forces on January 4, 1806, was already well known at the Cape before he became responsible for its administration, having stayed there for three months in 1780 and having also served under Lord Macartney. Baird and his immediate successors were, however, mainly administrators, and it is not until the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset that the era of British pioneering in South Africa may be said to commence. Somerset, a man proud and aloof by nature and training, was perhaps ill-fitted to gain the affections of the colonists he was called upon to rule. Nevertheless he framed for the stormy and chaotic colony under his charge a policy that formed the basis of the pacification and settlement of the country; and though he was persistently misunderstood and has been misrepresented by some historians, he has attained a high place among architects of empire. Somerset, though an aristocrat by nature and an autocrat by inclination, foresaw that

the only way to bring peace to the distracted colony was to adopt an active and democratic policy of settlement and to maintain a stern but just attitude with respect to the Kaffir hordes who were a constant menace on the eastern borders of the colony. It was during his term of office that the Settlement of 1820, which was to have so profound an effect upon the destinies of the country, took place. This settlement was unfortunate in its inception, for it fell to the lot of Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (who during Somerset's absence in England had been left in charge) to supervise and distribute the English colonists; but its ultimate success must be judged by its effect in introducing and making permanent a new British element in South Africa. Donkin and Somerset, the two protagonists in the drama of the Albany Settlement, were as wide apart as the poles in character and capacity, and the faults committed by Donkin had to be rectified by Somerset.

The story of the arrival of the settlers, their landing at Algoa Bay, their distribution in the remote frontier districts of the colony, their hardships and sufferings owing to the lack of organisation for their reception, and their frequent and constantly recurring warfare with the Kaffir tribes, forms one of the most romantic episodes in South African history; but it is not possible to mention more than the names of a few of the pioneers who helped to establish British influence in the east of the colony. Such men as Robert Godlonton, the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, and John Centlivres Chase, did much to encourage and support the growing colony and to help it to surmount the difficulties with which it was confronted; while Sir Andries Stockenstrom, although born in the colony and not one of the settlers, was their valiant defender and was actively engaged in placing colonists on the eastern borders.

The position of the Albany settlers was ably vindicated by two men, themselves among the colonists

at this period—Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn. The former, who was born in Scotland in 1789, went to the Cape in 1820 as leader of a small party, and he wrote the first account of the desperate condition of the settlers brought about by the failure of three successive crops, followed by a disastrous flood. He is best remembered, however, as the first English poet of South Africa, if we except Lady Anne Barnard, whose letters (1797-1801) form so charming and fascinating an account of life at the Cape during the first occupation and whose poem, *Auld Robin Gray*, is so well known. Pringle was closely associated with John Fairbairn, the father of the freedom of the South African press, in the foundation of the *South African Journal* and the *South African Commercial Advertiser*. Fairbairn's quarrel with Lord Charles Somerset over this venture and his ultimate vindication of the freedom of the press from administrative control, are a matter of history. Among the settlers were also the three brothers Moodie—Benjamin, Donald, and John—all of whom made their mark in South Africa, the second as the pioneer compiler of the *Cape Records*, and the third for his interesting books on the condition of the country.

With the spread of British influence, however, the dissatisfaction of the Dutch themselves, which originated through the administrative measures of the new authorities, increased, and a movement commenced that was destined to have far-reaching effects upon the development of the whole of South Africa. The leaders of this movement were sturdy and independent farmers who were determined to place themselves beyond the reach of the long arm of the administration. The story of the Great Trek northwards of nearly ten thousand persons between the years 1836 and 1839 belongs to the realm of history; but it may here be remarked that although it originated in a profound distrust of British policy, it led to the opening of South Africa beyond the

Orange and Vaal Rivers and was a great pioneering effort comparable, although on a small scale, with some of the great migrations of the past. Several large parties, under men whose names are revered in South Africa, wandered forth into the inhospitable and dangerous wilds, where they were liable to the attacks of hostile natives and where many of them lost their lives. The first party under Louis Trichard set out for Natal, and was followed by what is known as the Colesberg party, under Hendrik Potgieter, who fought a gallant and stubborn fight with Moselekatse's army, which was defeated and driven northwards beyond the Limpopo, where they eventually founded the Matabele kingdom. The third, the Graaf-Reinet party, was under the command of Gerrit Maritz, who became head of the emigrants in Natal after the death of Pieter Retief, the leader of the Wintersberg party. It is a matter of history how Retief¹ and a party of seventy companions were treacherously murdered by Dingaan, the brother and successor of the Zulu chief Tschaka, the anniversary of which disaster is commemorated in South Africa as Dingaan's Day.

Among those who accompanied one of the early parties was a boy—Paul Kruger—who was later to exercise a vast influence over his countrymen and to lead them in their opposition to the ever-encroaching English. Although Paul Kruger cannot be considered as one of the makers of the British Empire, and may be looked upon as the embodiment of the more reactionary elements among the Dutch, the indirect results of his stubborn opposition to the inevitable march of progress have been such as to warrant his inclusion in a book of pioneers. The pathetic figure of the broken and disillusioned statesman who journeyed to the land of his forefathers in a last endeavour to elicit support for his compatriots is

¹ It should be recalled that Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal, is named after Pieter Retief and Gerrit Maritz.

surely one of the most moving in the annals of South Africa, and his death in exile marked the end, it is to be hoped, of the long conflict of interests between Dutch and British in South Africa.

It is impossible here to record the stirring, bloody, and eventful history of the long conflict with the natives of South Africa, the annals of which are written with the blood of many of the pioneers who helped to build up the new nation. The name of Richard King, however, whose celebrated ride from Durban to Grahamstown to obtain assistance for British troops beleaguered by the Boers is one of the most stirring episodes in South African history, deserves to be recorded among our pioneers.¹ It was by deeds of daring and adventure such as his, that, throughout the long course of South African history, the settlers, Dutch and British, were able to maintain their prestige in the midst of constant and menacing dangers and in the face of greatly superior numbers of warlike natives.

Among the great administrators who have helped to build a permanent and united state in South Africa, the names of D'Urban, Smith, Cathcart, Grey, Frere, Lock, and Robinson, in addition to Somerset, stand forth, among many others, as pioneers on the road of progress. The support that was accorded to them by the home government varied with the political situation in Great Britain and the temperament of the statesman who was in charge of the Colonial Office ; but at all times their position in South Africa, with its unfortunate political and racial disputes, the difficulty of combining a cautious policy of advance with the often undoubted need for more vigorous measures, and the frequently recurring warfare with native tribes, was extremely difficult and arduous. South Africa was a school of capable administrators, and no names stand higher on the list of empire-builders than those mentioned above.

¹ See *The story of Dick King's Ride*. Pietermaritzburg, 1905.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban, one of the wisest and most far-seeing of South African administrators, was a man of action, popular with the colonists, and thoroughly understanding the needs of the country. At the time of the first great Kaffir war of 1834-5, he supported the energetic action of Sir Harry Smith who, like Dick King, made a celebrated ride overland from Cape Town to Grahamstown; and had his advice been followed and the formation of the province of Queen Adelaide been sanctioned, South Africa would probably have been saved from many succeeding troubles. Unfortunately, however, Colonial Office officials sometimes tremble in their shoes, as well as sleep in their chairs, and D'Urban's forward policy thoroughly alarmed the British authorities. While he was supported by almost the whole of the colonists in his endeavour to find a permanent solution of the frontier difficulties, he was opposed by a weak but well-meaning and sentimental Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, who failed to understand the critical situation at the Cape, with the result that D'Urban was recalled and the great work that he had accomplished was undone. Dismissed from office in the harshest manner in 1837, he declined to return to England, and remained as a private settler until the great injustice that had been done to him and the colonists generally was finally acknowledged. He did not leave South Africa until 1846, when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Canada. D'Urban was undoubtedly the best-loved and the most widely esteemed governor that has administered the Cape. He thoroughly understood the needs of the country, and his quick and daring brain formulated plans that, though disallowed at the time, were subsequently carried out; and his record as an administrator during a most critical period is beyond reproach.

Sir Harry Smith, who took so distinguished a part in the war against the Kaffirs, was, like some of his predecessors, a veteran of the Peninsular War. His

experiences during that war, as related in his autobiography, are full of the deepest interest, and he returned from Spain accompanied by a young Spanish wife, fourteen years old at the time of her marriage, who was his almost constant companion and was beloved by all with whom she came into contact. His first appointment in South Africa was as Deputy-Quartermaster-General in 1829. In 1835 he was chosen by D'Urban to take charge of the troops, and was afterwards given command of the proposed province of Queen Adelaide. In 1847 Smith was appointed Governor, and when he arrived at Cape Town he was received with great enthusiasm, particularly as he was free to carry out a policy of expansion by reannexing the province surrendered by Lord Glenelg. Unfortunately Smith, like D'Urban, was sacrificed to party politics of a questionable nature, for, although he had conducted the operations in Kaffraria in 1850 with great tact and success, he was recalled in a despatch which censured him "for want of energy and judgment in conducting the war." The veteran general died in 1860. Several towns are named after him and his wife, such as Harrismith, founded in 1849, Ladysmith, founded in 1851, and Aliwal North. His successor, Sir George Cathcart, who had been present at the battle of Waterloo, was successful both as a soldier and statesman, and he did much to establish peace in the frontier districts. His work was continued by Sir George Grey, one of the greatest of our colonial statesmen and administrators, who, after serving as Governor of South Australia and New Zealand, in both of which countries he impressed his personality permanently on the pages of history, came to South Africa and, afterwards ended his career as Prime Minister of New Zealand.

Grey was undoubtedly one of the wisest and most far-seeing of the South African governors, but he also fell under the displeasure both of the Colonial Office and the War Office. On one occasion when the

Government, without warning, reduced the annual grant to Kaffraria by £20,000, he advanced to the province the sum of £6000 from his own private means, and did not receive repayment until two years later. Sir George Grey was one of the pioneers of the idea of federation in South Africa, and being in favour of the political union of Cape Colony, Kaffraria, Natal, and the Orange Free State, he took steps to have the question discussed in South Africa. The English ministry, however, took umbrage at this action of a colonial governor, and he was directed to return to England. On his arrival he found that the Ministry had fallen, and that their successors had re-appointed him at the Queen's direct request. In no respect did Grey show greater talent than in the measures he initiated for dealing with the native tribes. The policy of encouraging the natives to become good citizens and of spreading amongst them the blessings of education and Christianity, which he formulated, was productive of much good, and Grey's name remains inseparably connected with the cause of education in South Africa as evidenced to-day in the fine Grey collection of books bequeathed by him to the South African Public Library and the numerous schools and colleges that have been named after him. That Grey was a man of initiative and sound judgment is shown by the action he took at the time of the Indian Mutiny when, without waiting for orders from England, he shipped to Bombay all the soldiers and munitions of war he could collect, after having personally explained the position to the Kaffir chiefs and obtained their promise to keep the peace. His action at this critical moment undoubtedly did much to ease the situation in India.

With the coming of Sir Bartle Frere to South Africa there commenced the first definite official attempt to secure the federation of the disunited and quarrelsome neighbouring states; and it was the mission of this distinguished and brilliant diplomatist

and statesman to secure this desirable result. With the history of this attempt and of the intrigues and difficulties, both in England and South Africa, which led to its defeat it is impossible to deal here. But it must be remarked that Frere, a man of the highest integrity and honesty of purpose, fell a victim to political exigencies in the mother country and that his recall was due to his action in connection with the Zulus, which so alarmed the then Government that they felt that there was no alternative to the recall of their agent in South Africa. For some time there had been grave "divergence of views," and these were subsequently explained with considerable frankness by Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State. In a privately printed vindication of his own action, Sir Bartle Frere discussed his policy at the Cape, and it is sufficiently evident that the difficult political situation, in South Africa was rendered doubly difficult by the lack of co-ordination between the policy of the home government and that considered necessary by Frere in order to deal with a most critical situation. On his return to England in 1880 Frere busied himself in missionary enterprise and philanthropic work, and his memory is revered for the interest he always took in the well-being of the native races under his charge and in all matters connected with their spiritual and material advancement.

With the departure of Frere, the era of the great administrator-pioneers of South Africa may be said to close. Such men as Lord Loch, Sir Hercules Robinson (Lord Rosmead), and Lord Milner belong to the age of modern development rather than to that of pioneering enterprise, and under their guidance South Africa passed out of the period of frequently recurring native wars into the calmer atmosphere of purely political discord. The one great outstanding event—the war between Briton and Boer in 1899-1902—was a conflict between two races struggling for supremacy in a country racially so equally balanced

that compromise alone is effective in maintaining peace. But there are two aspects of South African pioneering that cannot be overlooked—the great work carried on by the missionaries, missionary-statesmen, and missionary-travellers, and the forward movement to the far north initiated by Cecil Rhodes and his band of helpers. Of the pioneers of the goldfields, diamond-fields, and industrial enterprises generally, it is impossible to speak, although their work in building up a great economic state has been of commanding influence in a country like South Africa.

When we consider the missionary pioneers of South Africa we cannot fail to be impressed by the great work they accomplished in a country full of savage peoples who, hitherto, had not come into direct contact with any superior race such as was the case with many of the principal tribes of West Africa, who had, for centuries, been in touch with Arab civilisation. The Kaffirs of South Africa, whose past history had been an almost incessant record of inter-tribal warfare, were an intrusive race who had gradually ousted the numerically weaker and less advanced Hottentots and Bushmen. As with most savage peoples, their dominion was founded on conquest and force.

The record of individual missionaries who penetrated, often single-handed and unarmed, into regions where frequently white men had never been seen, and carried with them the seeds of Christianity and civilisation, is one of the noblest pages of South African history. Unlike the trekking Boers, who journeyed in large parties before settling on their farms, the missionaries, taking their lives in their hands, travelled into remote regions and braved perils that are almost foreign to present-day experience. It has been seen how the early Portuguese missionaries reached places in the interior of Africa that were not again visited by Europeans until many years had elapsed. But their influence was short-lived, and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century

that any definite attempt was made to convert the native races of South Africa as a whole. It is true that Livingstone, making his way through the wilds of Central Africa, found in several places that the only sign of contact with European civilisation was a congregation of native Africans worshipping God after the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, without priest or missionary in charge. These, however, were the isolated survivals of earlier Portuguese activity, and when the earliest Protestant missionaries commenced their work, South Africa was a virgin field, untilled and unsown.

The Dutch as a people had neglected to evangelise the Hottentots or Kaffirs, although a few missionaries sent by the Moravians or United Brethren, representatives of a poor but active church, worked among the Hottentots, such as George Schmidt, who as early as 1737 founded the mission at Genadendal.¹ The Moravians were followed after a long interval by the London Missionary Society, which started work in South Africa in 1799, the South African Missionary Society, which was founded by the Dutch Reformed Church in the first year of the century, the Wesleyan Society, which commenced in 1816, and the Paris Evangelical and Rhenish Missionary Societies, which started in 1829. The earliest agents of the London Society were the Revs. J. Kicherer and Kramer and the somewhat eccentric Dr. van der Kemp. Kicherer established himself near the Zak River, where he preached to a mixed crowd of Korannas, Namaquas, Hottentots, Bastaards, and Bushmen. While he was working in the north-west of the colony, Dr. van der Kemp went forward fearlessly towards Kaffraria, but eventually settled in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, after attempting to found a settlement close to Fort Frederick (Port Elizabeth). At Bethelsdorp, which soon became a centre of missionary enterprise, Van der Kemp, who was a man of good family and

¹ See David Cranz's *History of the Brethren*, 1780.

education and a doctor of medicine, was surrounded by a devoted band of followers. The eccentricities of his life, states Wyatt Tilby, were remembered by the whites; the excellence of his ministrations was not forgotten by the blacks. Many years later when other missionaries followed in his tracks they found a lively recollection, among the natives, of the man if not of the message he had brought.

It was not long before missionary stations were multiplied in South Africa. The missionaries penetrated in all directions. Some like Christian and Augustin Albrecht, accompanied by Seidenfaden, and followed at a later period by the saintly William Threlfall, journeyed through difficult and arid country, crossed the Orange River, and founded missions in Great Namaqualand; others went to the Basutos and the more warlike tribes in the eastern districts; and others, like the Rev. John Campbell, made journeys of investigation on behalf of the missionary societies and reported the results at headquarters. Campbell, during his missionary travels, covered a great part of Cape Colony. He pushed through Kaffraria, and saw a good deal of the resident Boers of the interior, journeyed through the Bushmen's country, visited Lattakoo, which at one time was almost as celebrated a name as Timbuctoo itself, but is now almost completely forgotten, and returned through Namaqualand. During his journey he met the celebrated traveller William Burchell, whose book on South Africa is the most valuable and accurate account of the country written during the opening years of the century. Lattakoo (Kuruman) then marked the farthest point of missionary advance northwards, while Griqua Town, more to the south, long remained the centre of missionary advance towards the interior, which, like railway enterprise at a later date, was across the plains of Bechuanaland to the unknown lands of the north.

Unfortunately missionary zeal was not always

tempered by discretion, and the pioneers of some of the earlier missions were not entirely men of tact. Round the name of the Rev. John Philip, who went to South Africa in the service of the London Missionary Society in 1819 and soon became the most drastic and uncompromising censor of the methods pursued by the colonists towards the natives and the policy of the local government with regard to native affairs, centres one of the most bitter controversies in South African history. Whatever justification there was for Philip's charges—and there was undoubtedly much—his methods were at least unhappy, and much of the ill-feeling towards missionary enterprise in South Africa, which became so pronounced at this period, was due to his intemperate and indiscriminate advocacy of the Kaffirs and Hottentots. Enthusiastic supporters of John Philip have not hesitated to call him the "Elijah of South Africa,"¹ but others have not scrupled to charge him with a lack of sincerity and veracity and to liken him to Ananias. It remains for the historian to discover, if possible, the happy mean.

It is only as we reach the less heated times of the really great missionary pioneers, such as Moffat and Livingstone, that the prejudices aroused by some of the earlier workers in the Christian field disappear and South African missionary enterprise stands forth in its true light as a great work for the uplifting and education of the natives. The arrival of Robert Moffat at Kuruman marked a fresh advance in the northward spread of missionary enterprise. Beyond lay the unknown wilds of the interior stretching towards the Equator and occupying the great white spaces then shown on the maps of Africa. Behind were the Hottentot and mixed tribes of the western portions of the Cape and the warlike Kaffirs in the east. To the east were the dreaded Zulu warriors of Moselekatse's army, and to the west lay the arid wilderness of the Kalihari Desert. Moffat, a man of indomitable

¹ See Robert Philip's *The Elijah of South Africa*, 1851.

courage, infinite tact, and stern and simple piety, now settled among the Bechuanas, acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, and, through his practice of irrigation, gained the admiration and confidence of the people. His work was so successful that when in 1829 Moselekatse, the dreaded chief of the Matabele, heard of Moffat from two white traders who had ventured into the far interior to shoot elephants and barter with the natives, he expressed a wish that Moffat should visit him. Moffat journeyed to the Matabele country, but the problem with which he and his companions were faced was complicated by the fact that within a short period the Matabele were retreating northwards before the oncoming Boers, and that the first contact of this fierce offshoot of the Zulus with white men was not likely to render any message of peace and goodwill from an unarmed stranger of much avail. Both the missionaries and the Matabele were expelled by the Boers of the Transvaal, who had determined to close the interior against every form of British influence. It was the great missionary Mackenzie who, as will be seen, at a later period countered by his statesmanlike vision this endeavour to block the road of progress in South Africa. Moffat himself, in his station at Kuruman, was beyond the main tide of the trekkers' advance, but his work with the Matabele was stopped and he was obliged to be content with his remarkable achievements in Bechuanaland.

The connection between Moffat and a still greater man, whose name will be revered throughout Africa so long as British influence endures, was a close one. David Livingstone, who left for South Africa at the end of 1840, met Moffat in February, 1843, at the Vaal River, and not long afterwards he married Moffat's daughter Mary. Livingstone took up missionary work among the Bechuana tribes farther north, but from the first he was fired not only with missionary zeal but with an almost compelling desire

for travel and adventure. His first notable discovery was Lake Ngami in 1849. From that time forward Livingstone became convinced that preaching was only part of his life's mission. With the vast interior of Africa unopened and unknown, it was impossible for him to remain working quietly without attempting to push forward in search of new lands into which, when the way had once been shown, fresh workers in the missionary field would be able to enter. Livingstone's work has to be judged, therefore, from a much wider standpoint than that of the ordinary missionary. He was carrying the torch of Christianity into the unknown and blazing a trail across the wilderness of the interior. Every unsolved problem in connection with Africa proved an incentive to this man of tireless energy and perseverance. Successively he journeyed to the Chobe River near its junction with the Zambesi, went forward to the mighty Zambesi itself, and thence found a route to the west coast at Loanda. Returning, he struck down the Zambesi, discovered the Victoria Falls, close to which is the present capital of Northern Rhodesia, at Livingstone, and following the river towards the sea, he reached the old Portuguese settlement of Quilimane in May, 1856, after having crossed the continent by a route never before traversed by white men.

This great achievement at once placed Livingstone in the front rank of explorers, and it was the pioneer journey from which all future discoveries flowed in an almost natural sequence. Thenceforth he ranged throughout East Central Africa like some great conqueror entering upon new realms. The Shiré Highlands and Lake Nyasa, although undoubtedly known to earlier Portuguese travellers; Lake Tanganyika, though first placed on the map of Africa in the seventeenth century and subsequently forgotten; Lakes Moero and Bangweulu and a great part of North-Eastern Rhodesia were successively discovered or explored, and by the time of Livingstone's death

most of the main topographical features of the interior had been drawn on the map of Africa, and a way opened from the south of the continent which was to prove the avenue of advance for missionaries, traders, settlers, and administrators. Livingstone himself, in a classic phrase, has summed up the purpose of his life's work—"The end of the geographical feat," he said, "is the beginning of missionary enterprise."

The work of Livingstone in opening a road from south to north might possibly have been of little avail but for the activity and persistence of John Mackenzie, a fellow-countryman who left home equipped with a rugged personality and a strong determination to keep open for missionary enterprise the lands that Livingstone was discovering. He recognised that the Boer republics north of the Orange River were not friendly to the missionary ideal and that if the Boers spread, as seemed only too likely, over the interior, a wedge would be driven across Africa from west to east in the way of missionary advance. Mackenzie settled in Khama's country, where he worked a great change, but he found that the Boers were pushing forward into Bechuanaland in the one direction and into the debatable country in the north of Natal in the other, and were contemplating settlements in Damaraland and even in the north among the Mashonas. On the one hand was an active and intrusive Dutch element, setting up small republics in districts that were not as yet under any effective administrative control. On the other were the slackness and vacillation of British statesmanship in South Africa, unwilling and almost afraid to shoulder new responsibilities in a country so full of unpleasant surprises and memories. John Mackenzie, the almost unknown missionary at a far-away station in South Africa, now boldly put himself forward as the champion of British interests; preached in season and out of season, by pamphlets, letters, and books, the need for enlarging the responsibilities of the Imperial

Government in South Africa; and aroused public attention to the probability that Bechuanaland and the way to the north would be lost if effective steps were not taken to meet the menacing situation.

Mackenzie's ideals were high. He disliked both British and Boer settlers in Bechuanaland because they were occupying the tribal lands of his protégés, but his dislike of the Dutch was intensified by the lawless proceedings of the settlers and their entire disregard of native rights, and by his knowledge that the great majority were hostile to the British missions. He was opposed to any extension of Cape Colony northwards, as he believed that it would be fatal for "Cape Colony and South Africa to become synonymous terms," but he was more opposed to the claim of the Boers to "the supreme political position in South Africa, to be the Empire State among its states, the highway to the interior, to have the native policy of the future—all in their hands." When, as the man on the spot, Mackenzie was made Deputy-Commissioner in Bechuanaland, at the time when the two Boer republics of Goshenland and Stellaland were preparing to dispute any British advance, he was almost immediately involved in difficulties and was unable to unravel the Bechuana tangle. He was recalled to Cape Town and Cecil Rhodes was sent north.

There was an open and never concealed hostility between Mackenzie and Rhodes. While the latter partly settled the Bechuanaland troubles by recognising the doubtful claims of the Boers to their farms—claims which Mackenzie, lacking the diplomatic instinct and standing for the rights of the natives, would not have allowed—the former now began to oppose Rhodes's very definite plans for a chartered company to take control of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, by a demand for direct Imperial control. It was a fight between a poor and private citizen and one who had become a public man, and a very considerable

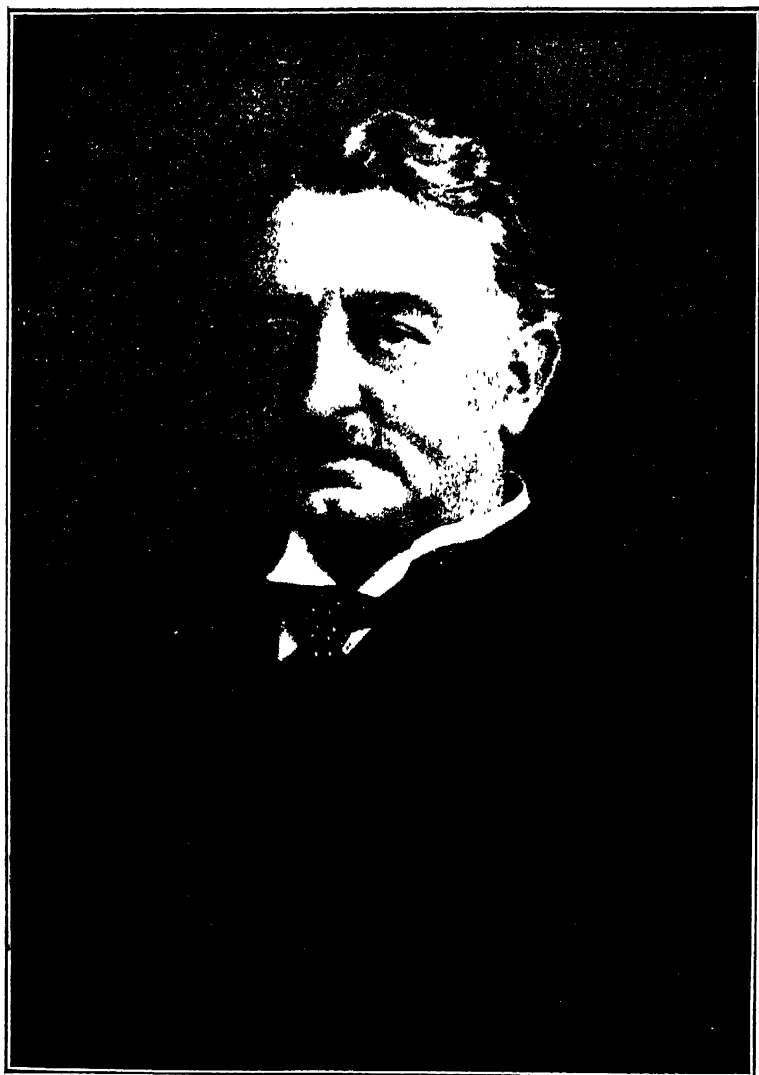
power in South Africa and in England, and was prepared to use his power and wealth in the furtherance of his aims—and the scales were further weighted in Rhodes's favour by the disinclination of the Imperial Government to assume direct responsibilities north of the Transvaal. Mackenzie was beaten in the fight and took little further part in political matters. It is a curious link between two men so different in character and perhaps in moral estimates that Mackenzie finally died at Kimberley, the city so closely connected with Rhodes's advance to wealth.

The story of Cecil Rhodes is so well known and the work he accomplished so generally appreciated that there is no need to do more than allude briefly to his career in Africa. After Livingstone, Rhodes is the one great outstanding figure of modern Africa. No two men could be more dissimilar in aims and temperament, but both possessed that strange and elusive statesmanship which is able to conciliate possible enemies and to foresee and frustrate gathering hostile forces—Livingstone in the case of the natives, and Rhodes, until his policy became suspect, with regard to the Dutch. Both, moreover, had that Elizabethan breadth of imagination and largeness of aim which is associated more especially with the expansive days of the Tudor period.

Rhodes, then a young man, who had, however, already made his mark in South Africa, first proved his statesmanship in his handling of the Boer settlers in Bechuanaland. His attitude at that critical period was the keystone of his future policy—the conciliation of the Dutch element and the creation in South Africa of a united nation, within the Empire, but possessing full responsible government. He desired, in fact, what John Mackenzie did his best to prevent—the extension of Cape Colony northwards until the Cape and South Africa should become synonymous terms. When Rhodes talked of “eliminating the Imperial factor in the interests of a united South Africa,” he

meant the elimination of Downing Street, and substitution of direct control by an Africander nation of all territories south of the Zambesi. This idea was not to be accomplished in Rhodes's time, nor is it consummated to-day, but it formed the mainspring of his attitude towards the Dutch in South Africa until the crowning calamity of the failure of the Jameson Raid ended his prestige with the Imperial Government and his hard-won friendship with the Cape Dutch, and hastened and embittered the end of one who, in spite of his faults, must be regarded as one of the greatest of our Empire-builders.

Rhodes's career as a statesman was practically crowded into the twelve feverish years of intense activity between his visit to Bechuanaland and the failure of Jameson in the Transvaal, for he died at the early age of forty-nine broken on the altar of his own adventures. When he entered the Cape Parliament in 1881 at the age of twenty-seven, the prestige of the Imperial Government was at a low ebb in South Africa. Majuba had been fought and lost, and the Convention of Pretoria, which restored independence to the Transvaal, had just been signed. Rhodes immediately took the line of least resistance and identified himself with the country of his adoption. But he kept to the forefront the idea of northern extension, and it is probable that even then he was contemplating the great northward move which he initiated and carried through, and considering the possibilities of the extension of railroads through the heart of Africa towards the time-honoured capital of the north. During this period, while preparing his political career, he was engaged in the vast and daring financial operations, in co-operation with his partner Alfred Beit, which culminated in the consolidation of the Kimberley mines. Without the aid of great financial resources, his political plans might have miscarried and the foundation of Rhodesia



Cecil John Rhodes. [1853-1902].

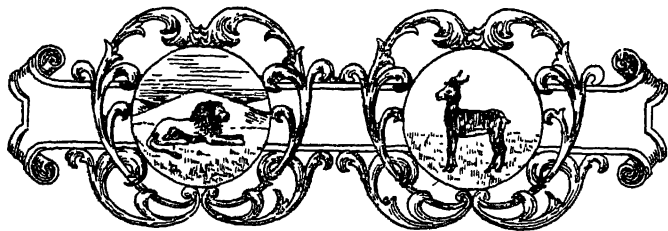
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might have been delayed until it would have been too late to act effectively.

The part taken by Rhodes in the creation of a great state to the north of the Limpopo, largely independent of Imperial control, has rendered his name memorable for all time. But it must not be forgotten that though he was undoubtedly the moving spirit and financial genius of the enterprise, it was through the agency of others that the actual pioneering work was accomplished. To Frederick Courteney Selous, a young Englishman who in 1872 at the age of nineteen had first asked permission of Lobengula to shoot the great game of the country, fell the task of guiding the pioneering parties to their destinations and selecting the route of their advance; other agents such as J. S. Moffat, C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, and Frank Thompson, had the work of negotiating with the Matabele sovereign and forestalling the Boers of the Transvaal, who were considering the establishment of permanent relations in his country; and to Leander Starr Jameson, a young Scots doctor, who had established a medical practice at Kimberley and had long been Rhodes's personal friend, was given the duty of keeping Lobengula to the promises he had made. Jameson, in fact, played a personal part of greater distinction in the founding of Rhodesia than any other of his contemporaries, although to Rhodes as the organiser and master-mind must ever remain the credit of advancing British interests to the threshold of the great lakes.

With the creation of the great state of Rhodesia, the story of the pioneers of South Africa comes to a fitting end. Out of the large number of those who helped in building up a great South African community, now united under the British Crown, from the days of Vasco da Gama and Bartolomeo Diaz to Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, a few names stand forth as of universal interest, but if one were asked to mention the two greatest figures in South African

history, if by greatness actual achievement be meant, there should be no hesitation in replying that Livingstone and Rhodes stand forth as the great pioneers of South Africa, whose work may almost be judged in continents and whose bodies are enshrined in British soil—the one, in the solemn grandeur of Westminster Abbey, the other in a lonely grave on the Matopos overlooking the great dominion he garnered out of the waste lands of the earth.



Badges of
Transvaal. Orange Free State.

CHAPTER IX

PIONEERS OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

§ I

AUSTRALIA

WILLIAM DAMPIER was the first Englishman to set foot in Australia. He came twice, in 1689 and 1699, first as a private adventurer (otherwise a buccaneer) and secondly as commander of a ship supplied by the Admiralty. He landed on the north-west coast, and found little on either visit to cause him to form a good opinion of the country. Beyond arousing some curiosity his discoveries had small effect.

It was left for Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks in 1769-1770 to find out the true nature of the country by their discoveries on the eastern coast, where the exotic vegetation and the charm of the prospect at Botany Bay delighted them. The explorations then made induced Captain Cook to proclaim the territory British, and Sir Joseph Banks to recommend a few years later that it should be occupied and settled.

Contrary to the usual belief, the movement which was to lead to colonisation did not start from a desire to found a penal settlement. The name of James M. Matra has hardly received due recognition in connection with the foundation of New South Wales. Matra never went to the country; he became British Consul at Tangiers; but the memorial (still preserved in the Colonial Office) which he drew up, has rightly been called the germ of Australian Settlement. It was originally a scheme for the plantation of a free colony,

but when pressed in 1784 by Matra upon Lord Sydney it was he—with the approving voice of Sir Joseph Banks—who imported the idea of a convict station, and made the inclusion of that the condition of support from the Government. Matra had no other choice than to submit, but he exercised himself greatly in arousing interest in the project, and inducing free settlers to emigrate.

The first governor chosen, Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., was also a strenuous advocate for the introduction of free colonists possessed of capital and energy, and the intention of developing the natural resources of the new land. His mind, unlike that of some of his successors, envisaged a great destiny for it. He believed that he had been appointed to govern a country that would “prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made,” for so he wrote in his first official despatch after arrival, and with that prediction the immediate use of the territory as a mere repository for surplus population of the kind that used previously to be trafficked from England to the plantations of America had very little to do.

Assuredly Arthur Phillip was one of the makers of Australia, and the infant settlement suffered greatly from the all too early loss of his wise direction of its fortunes. Had his health permitted him to stay for ten or twenty years at his post instead of four, the early history of New South Wales might have been more propitious, and its rate of progress accelerated.

Unlike several of his successors he had an enlightened mind and some sense of proportion. As the years passed, “the system” and the principle of free settlement clashed again and again, and the tendency of the early governors, who were responsible for the administration of the former, leaned often more towards the limitation to the penal ideal, than to the exploitation of the country’s resources. But the country itself and the enterprise of the pioneers



Governor Arthur Phillip, Vice-Admiral. [1738-1814]. *To face page 254*
[From a picture by F. Wheatley, engraved by W. Sherwin, May 1, 1789].

were too much for any such restrictions, and the explorer pushed forward by land and sea and prepared the way for the permanent settler.

The convenient theory upon which the Government worked, after the eastern half of Australia had been proclaimed and occupied, was that as the native tribes were nomads with no well-defined rights in the land, all such rights had vested in the British Crown. It accordingly parcelled it out as it chose, and the duty of distribution was in the hands of the Governor for the time being. His task was no easy one, and grew more and more difficult as the settlement progressed. The officers and soldiers who accompanied Phillip, though they declined the public duty of warding the prisoners, had no objection to receiving grants of land and superintending their cultivation with convict labour, to their own advantage.

Their activities were naturally confined to the comparatively small area surrounding Port Jackson, which soon became known under the name of the Settled Districts, cut off as they were for twenty-five years from the interior by that part of the Great Dividing Range called the Blue Mountains, a little more than thirty miles inland. It was not until 1813 that these mountains were crossed, but meanwhile considerable progress of an enlightening kind had been made in exploration by sea.

In this connection, the names of Matthew Flinders and George Bass stand out with pre-eminence. Their joint and several voyages were conducted under every possible disadvantage, and required courage and resolution of no ordinary kind. With tiny rowing-boats or leaky ships their arduous and dangerous work was done, the existence of Bass Straits established, and the fact that Tasmania was an island demonstrated. Matthew Flinders did not rest until he had circumnavigated the continent and traversed the gaps in the circuit left by Captain Cook and the Dutch navigators of the seventeenth century.

George Bass was a surgeon with a turn for adventure, Matthew Flinders a lieutenant in the Navy, and an enthusiastic explorer of high attainments. It is to his suggestion that Australia owes its present name. In the *Norfolk*, a small decked boat, these two intrepid men sailed to Twofold Bay, 200 miles south of Sydney, and thence round Wilson's Promontory, through Bass Straits, and round the northern and western coasts of Tasmania, in unknown seas and along unvisited shores, where there was no certainty of obtaining water or food. In a voyage lasting nearly half a year, they circumnavigated the island and returned to Sydney (1798). Flinders alone, in the same vessel, sailed to the northward in 1799. He found Moreton Bay and the river on which Brisbane now stands, and explored Hervey's Bay. In 1801 an old ship, *The Investigator*, was commissioned by the Admiralty for further exploration of the Australian coast with Flinders in command. The southern portion of the island was first examined and a record of the navigator's native county was established in the number of Lincolnshire place-names with which he endowed the several capes and bays on his charts.

In June, 1802, after a short sojourn at Sydney, Flinders again sailed to the north with the object of completing the circuit of the continent. His aim was accomplished, but the vessel leaked, scurvy attacked the ship's company, and after many hardships the commander reached Sydney in June, 1803, with his health greatly impaired. Thence he sailed for home in the *Porpoise*, which was wrecked, almost 800 miles from Port Jackson. Having returned to Sydney in a cutter, Flinders restarted his homeward journey in the *Cumberland*, which put into Port Louis, Mauritius, where she was seized, and Flinders kept as a French prisoner of war for seven years. Though the French Governor had deprived him of many of his papers, Flinders was able to publish the two large volumes that stand to his name under the title of *A Voyage to*

Terra Australis, with maps, and he also published *Observations on the Coast of Van Diemen's Land*, and some scientific and cartographical papers.

The riches of the ocean—whales, turtle, and trepang, which were important in the early trade of Australia, were largely revealed by the explorers by sea, but now let us revert to dry land and consider some of the founders of industry there. Exploitation of the resources of the land was begun by the officers and civil officials who accompanied the Governor. Of these John Macarthur is the most eminent. Within ten years of his landing this ex-lieutenant of the N.S.W. Corps had by commerce and stock-breeding amassed a considerable fortune in a land which, as one historian puts it, was "supposed to be living on charity." Macarthur was the first great sheep-breeder of Australia, and so the virtual inaugurator of the industry which for fifty years or more was by far the chief contributor to the wealth of the country. He was not alone in the enterprise. The Chaplain-in-Chief, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, whose activities were not limited to administering to his human flock, deserves praise for his experiments to improve the quality of wool in Australia, and to produce that "pure merino" which from its export value was soon to provide in local slang a term descriptive of persons or things of the highest worth or finest quality. Marsden imported some Spanish sheep given him by George III., and bred from them, but Macarthur was the more energetic promoter of this profitable industry.

Formerly in business in Plymouth, he had joined the N.S.W. Corps, a regiment raised for special service in Australia, and after his arrival had for a time held the appointment of Inspector of Government Stores. His representations in England of the wool-producing capabilities of the colony, secured him a grant of 5000 acres of the best land east of the then uncrossed mountains. It was an estate which Governor Bligh

swore to him that "By God, he should not keep," but it has remained in the possession of his descendants to this day. Macarthur was not of a character to be victimised, and fought against the unprogressive ideals of the autocratic governors with more vigour than any other of the earlier settlers. He was the moving spirit in the Bligh revolution, whereby the Governor was deposed by the military (1808), the proximate cause of which was an illegal interference with Macarthur's business affairs, and an invasion of his rights as a subject.

Of the earlier governors, Philip Gidley King (1800-1906) and Lachlan Macquarie (1810-1821) deserve mention as builders of the State: the former for reducing to order its finances, making economies and reforms in administration, and colonising Tasmania; the latter, though he was lukewarm about the development of the territory as a land of freedom, for his energy in mapping and surveying, in setting the prisoners to work at making roads, erecting useful public buildings in the capital, and establishing country towns in which he built churches, parsonages, hospitals, court-houses, and public offices. So lavish was his expenditure that a Commissioner (J. T. Bigge) was sent from England to report on his administration. It was during Macquarie's reign that the Blue Mountains were crossed by Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson, after many unsuccessful attempts by others.

That feat alone, which revealed the Bathurst Plains and immense areas of land to the north and south suitable at first for pasture, and later for agriculture, entitles those three men to a place in this record. They conquered the mountain barrier by abandoning the plans of their predecessors, who had tried to pass by following the gullies, and had invariably been stopped by high precipices; and successfully made their way over the ridges along a line roughly corresponding to the course of the road which was subsequently constructed. Access to the interior plains

thus gained irrevocably determined the future of the country as a great producer of primary products, and the ultimate supporter of a large population.

But the first two of the above-mentioned explorers deserve attention on other grounds. Gregory Blaxland, the inspirer and leader of this expedition, had been an English gentleman-farmer, and was a member of a family known to have been settled in Kent from the remotest times. With his brother John, he had disposed of his English properties and migrated to the new land at the Antipodes. The Blaxlands were perhaps the first men of their class who entered New South Wales as voluntary and unofficial colonists, with capital at command and the intention of permanent domicile. They were viewed with no welcoming eye by Governor Macquarie, who, especially in the earlier years of his government, was averse to an invasion of the country by a class of settler less amenable to discipline than officials and prisoners. But it was such men as these who established industries, trade, and commerce, and paved the way for future developments, pastoral, mining, agricultural, and industrial. The first autocratic governors viewed them as a disturbing element—greedy men, whose object was to make money by the reprehensible practice of buying cheap and selling dear.

A far more prominent part in the public life of Australia was played by William Charles Wentworth. At the time of the journey over the mountain ranges of twenty-six days of the most arduous travel, he was a youth of twenty. He had been born in the country, the son of D'Arcy Wentworth, who for a time was Principal Surgeon to the Settlement. He lived to earn the popular title of "father" of his country and "the Australian Patriot," through the energy and ability with which he laboured to advance its political status, and secure to its citizens their full rights as British subjects.

He had a strong literary bent, and the advantage

of education at Oxford. His well-known poem on Australasia was submitted for a prize competition at Cambridge, and was acknowledged to be superior to that of W. M. Praed, which was officially placed first and is now quite dead.

Wentworth was called to the English Bar, and practised his profession in Sydney, where one of his contemporaries was Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer in one of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinets.

Wentworth was also greatly interested in the Australian Press, and with his colleague Dr. Wardell, fought vigorously in the cause of its freedom. But this arena was not the only one wherein he joined battle with governors and officialdom. The larger issue of shaking the country free from the shackles of "the System," in so far as that tended to retard its progress in the creation of wealth, and the development of its immense natural resources, was the chief aim of his life. He had no feeling against the continuance of transportation or the assignment of prisoners to settlers as labourers, but he was on the side of those who thought that when these had purged their offences and served their sentences, they should be readmitted to civil rights in Australia, as elsewhere. He became a great landholder himself, thus joining a class with which he was in conflict in the earlier stages of his long public career. When accused of inconsistency, he stoutly defended himself. He hated "democracy," by which he understood a system based on "an utterly false theory of human equality." He wanted to reproduce "England" in Australia, with hereditary titles, landed gentry, and society classed in all respects on the contemporary model. The guiding political aim of his life, he said, was to form a self-governing British state in Australia on this basis. He saw it accomplished. He was the father of the full Parliamentary Constitution, adopted (with some modifications) in New South Wales, which



William Charles Wentworth. [1793-1872]. *To face page 260*

served primarily as a model for those of the other states. He came to England and saw the measure through Parliament. But for his fiery energy between the years 1849 and 1856, when the first Australian Parliament under the system of Responsible Government assembled, this great step might have been long postponed. Round these activities is centred the great work of his life. He made mistakes, and fought as a hot partisan, and he had a difficulty in realising that opposition should not necessitate enmity with those who differed with him, but Robert Lowe, whom he alternately worked with and opposed, said in an hour of triumph for Wentworth and defeat for himself, that there was no man with whom he would be more proud to act, and if Wentworth would but view politics from a less personal standpoint, none whose leadership he would be more pleased to follow. Wentworth was of the stuff of which great men are made. Not only was his eloquence splendid and dynamic, but his driving power and persistence were of like quality. It was this outstanding personality that dominated his native land and earned him his aforesaid sobriquet.

In 1849 he passed a Bill through the Legislative Council of New South Wales for the constitution of a university at Sydney, and in 1852 that seat of learning was formally opened. It was the first of the six—one in each State—that Australia now possesses, and through Government aid and private benefaction has grown to dimensions greater probably than the most sanguine hopes of its founders.

W. C. Wentworth died in England in March, 1872, but his remains were taken to Sydney, and deposited with great ceremony and the honours of a public funeral in a mausoleum within the grounds of his own estate of Vaucluse on the shores of Port Jackson.

The Reverend Samuel Marsden, who arrived in New South Wales in 1795 as assistant chaplain—that is, two years after W. C. Wentworth was born—became

in a few years Chaplain-in-Chief and magistrate, and one of the moving forces in the progress of the country. His farming and agricultural interests have already been alluded to, and it was in connection with these and with social and political expansion in the colony that his name is first heard as a public man. He sided with the older ruling caste of soldier-settlers and landholders, with whom the young Wentworth came into collision. He was of "the System," and he supported it, though doing all he could to humanise it. It was the losing side, and only remains as a vague memory now. Australia's destiny was not to be a land where a dominant class was to be served and kept in affluence by the forced labour of an ignorant inferior one, but that seems to have been the ideal of many in those days.

Personally he was highly esteemed and his exertions in the cause of religious education, orphanages for destitute children, and other humane objects were continuous. He was a missionary in grain. Born at Horsforth, Yorks, in 1764, he became a scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and a friend of Charles Simeon, and from there he went to New South Wales.

In 1806 some Maori chiefs who had been brought to Sydney made a great impression upon him, for their fine characteristics. He determined to visit and Christianise their country. This he did, though it involved risks and hardships of the most formidable kind. Noble savage as the Maori then was, he was also warlike, merciless, and a cannibal. Marsden won the love and esteem of these fierce tribes, and earned the title of Apostle of New Zealand. On his own undertaking, he first visited the islands in 1815, and between that year and 1837 made seven voyages across the 1200 miles of often stormy seas that separate them from Australia. He died suddenly in the Parsonage at Windsor, New South Wales, in 1838.

The roll of explorers in Australia, who may justly

be described as builders of the country, is a long one. J. Oxley and G. W. Evans, and later Sir Thomas Mitchell, Government surveyors, followed Blaxland and Wentworth's example, and opened up good country west, north, and south. Hamilton Hume and W. H. Hovell proceeding from Sydney to Port Phillip, crossed the Murray in 1824; Alan Cunningham, the botanist, found the Liverpool Plains and access to the Darling Downs (1817-30); and then came Captain Charles Sturt—whose name perhaps merits the highest honour in this gallery. Born in India, trained as a soldier in England, after much active service Sturt came to New South Wales as *aide* and secretary to Governor Sir Ralph Darling. In 1828-9 on an exploration which covered about 1300 miles, he, with Hamilton Hume, found the Macquarie and Darling Rivers. Later, in 1829, he proceeded south of Sydney carrying the timbers of an old whale boat with him. On the banks of the Murrumbidgee he nailed them together and rowed down-stream to the junction with the Darling: onward, he reached the mighty Murray, and in thirty-three days the "thunder of the Southern Ocean" was heard afar across the marshy waters of Lake Alexandrina. The hardships of his return journey against the stream were appalling, but, though his health was impaired, he lived to explore much more of the interior, and to spend a life of active public service in Adelaide, the capital of the province established in the territory he had thus traversed. Sturt's discovery of the Murray revealed the true nature of the main riverine system of Australia, and had an enormous effect on the progress of settlement. "Brave as a paladin and gentle as a girl," it is said that in the course of his thousands of miles of journeys through virgin country, no shot was ever fired or gun raised upon an aboriginal native.

Strzelecki, MacMillan, Riley, and Macarthur, in 1839-40, explored Gippsland and the Australian Alps.

Edward John Eyre—afterwards the celebrated Governor of Jamaica—traversed the harsh country west of Adelaide, found the salt lakes, headed round the Australian Bight, and ultimately crossed, after incredible hardships, to King George's Sound, West Australia, alone but for a faithful black servant. He had sent all his men back from a previous halting-place, with the exception of one Baxter, who was subsequently killed by the blacks (1841).

Sir Thomas Mitchell's expedition of 1836 revealed the Eden of Australia Felix; his subsequent one of 1845 the valuable nature of the plateau of Western Queensland.

Ludwig Leichhardt, a scientific German, made his way from Sydney to Port Essington (1844). In 1848 he started to cross the continent from east to west, but his fate is an unsolved mystery, for he never returned, and though expeditions in search (including those of A. C. Gregory in Western, and South Australia) followed, his remains have not been discovered.

John MacDouall Stuart (who was with Sturt in 1844) continued to explore the interior, from South Australia, penetrating to the very centre in 1860. In 1862 he achieved the splendid feat, which baffled his more notorious and ill-fated contemporaries W. O. Burke and W. J. Wills, of crossing Australia from south to north, and reached the Indian Ocean at Van Diemen's Gulf. His route, in the main, is that of the telegraph line which now links Darwin with Adelaide.

In Western Australia, Alexander and John Forrest (afterwards Lord Forrest of Bunbury) did brave and notable work in exploration, and in the discovery of regions of value for pastoral use or as the ultimate sites of great mining operations (1869-79). The names of Ernest Giles and Major Warburton, 1872-6, are memorable for expeditions in Southern, Western, and Central Australia, while the romance of discovery in the northern and western parts of Queensland

would require volumes to do it justice. The heroes of such a serial would be many, and the first names to claim attention, those of E. B. Kennedy and A. C. Gregory, already mentioned, and his two brothers.

In 1847 Kennedy, a Government surveyor, who had accompanied Mitchell, identified the Barcoo, Victoria River, and Cooper's Creek as the same river; discovered the Thomson River and reached the head of the Warrego. In 1848 he attempted to explore the eastern side of Cape York with a party of twelve men. The expedition ended in tragedy. After great hardships Weymouth Bay was reached. Thence Kennedy sent back most of his men, and went forward with the intention of reaching Port Albany, where a vessel was to have met him. He was murdered by blacks after reaching Escape River—a native boy with him alone escaped, and guided the relief ship towards the remainder of the expedition, but on coming into touch with it, two survivors only were found, the others having died of exhaustion or been murdered by hostile natives.

Frank Gregory, the youngest of the three brothers, was mostly engaged independently in explorations in Western Australia. H. C. Gregory was generally associated with his elder brother, Augustus; firstly, in the State last mentioned, and subsequently in Queensland and the Northern Territory, 1855-9, where they examined the Gulf country, Sturt's Creek, the eastern tributaries of the Victoria, the Roper and its tributaries, on one of which, the Elsey, he found what he thought were traces of a camp of Leichhardt's. From the Gulf country he made his way back to Brisbane in 1856 by a course to the south of the Fitzroy River.

The futile attempt to cross Australia by Burke and Wills previously mentioned led to several relief expeditions in 1861-2, which resulted in fresh discoveries. Some of these started from Queensland, but one under A. W. Howitt from Melbourne, and one

under John McKinlay from Adelaide. In 1861 F. Walker, after descending the Norman, crossed the Flinders River, reached the sea at the mouth of the Albert, and returned overland to Rockhampton. In the same year W. Landsborough ascended the Albert, found and named the Gregory and Herbert (now the Georgina) Rivers and Lakes Frances and Mary. Thence he descended the Thomson, crossed the Barcoo, and relinquished his search at the Warrego, where he learnt of the fate of Burke and Wills.

There were many other explorers. W. C. Gosse, E. Favenc, W. H. Tietkins, H. Stockdale, D. Lindsay, Wells and Calvert, D. Carnegie, are a few among the long list whose travels and trials have resulted in making known the nature of the whole of the continent, with the possible exception of a few comparatively small areas in those parts of it to which access is most difficult.

What men like the Blaxlands and similar capitalists did for New South Wales was done by others elsewhere. The Swan River Settlement of 1829 was the germ of Western Australia, and Mr. T. Peel (a cousin of Sir Robert Peel) was its first financial backer. The colonisation scheme implicated a grant to himself of one million acres, in the neighbourhood of the present site of Perth, under onerous conditions as to importing immigrants, and development of the land. Upon this enterprise Peel expended £50,000, and introduced 300 settlers, but only to see all his efforts fruitless and himself bankrupt. But he had started the train which, after some temporary setbacks, was at last set moving on its predestined course. Those who came after him had the benefit of his luckless experience, and won through to success.

The story of another such a man, who did not fail, but established himself and his family in the new land, may be seen in South Australia—the “province” founded “scientifically” on the theories—or rather, on some of the theories—of colonisation advocated

by the celebrated Edward Gibbon Wakefield. If any one deserves the name of "Father of South Australia" from the point of view of individual efficiency in practical colonisation—it is George Fife Angas, whose name will be perpetuated by that of the town Angaston even if his lineage—now happily flourishing—should ever fail. The capital that he invested, first as a director of the South Australia Company in England, and subsequently as a resident on the Angas Estate, with the assistance of his son, John Howard Angas, was not poured, like Peel's, into unproductive sands, but bore good fruit not only for its owners but for the prosperity of the whole province.

Exploration was the forerunner of great mineral as well as pastoral development, and the name of E. H. Hargraves, an old colonist who found payable gold in Australia, should not be omitted in even such an unexhaustive review of its "makers" as can here be given. His discoveries poured wealth into the country as well as causing it to be won from the soil.

Similar results followed the researches of William Farrer, who taught Australians how to grow wheat to advantage, but his exploits have been dealt with elsewhere.

With the greater figures in Australian local politics this chapter can make no pretence to deal. They, too, were builders, but their careers may be examined in the numerous histories of the country. Sir John Robertson of New South Wales was a patriarch of Crown Land legislation. His Acts and measures are all repealed now, but their aims and objectives are at last being reached through the laws for which they paved the way. By his system of land registration, introduced in South Australia, and now universal in the Commonwealth, Colonel Robert Torrens simplified legal conveyancing, and did much to facilitate general progress by thus enabling alienated lands to be easily and inexpensively transferred.

The men on the land who do the work of producing

the wealth are the real makers of a country. Sometimes the politicians help them, for that is one of the aims of government, sometimes they fail in their efforts, but in any event they tax them. Sir George Grey is a great name in both Australia and New Zealand. While still a young man he, as Governor of South Australia, rescued a struggling colony from impending bankruptcy and set it on its feet. Sir Henry Parkes loomed large for many years in the Parliamentary life of New South Wales. His name will be chiefly remembered for his advocacy of Federation, the last activity of his career. Sir James McCulloch, Premier of Victoria in 1867, was the first to confer the blessing (or, as some think, the reverse) of a protective tariff on an Australian State.

Land and the fiscal issue were for years after the grant of responsible Governments to the colonies the chief staples in legislative business. As regards the former, it was the practical men among the people who were the real builders, for the achievements and services of the statesmen were based on their experiences.

It is the people who have made the country, far more even than the historical politicians who have worked so strenuously in their interests. The explorers, followed by prospectors for mineral wealth, and pioneer pastoralists, merchants, and industrialists, have brought the country up to its present stage of progress, which is but the threshold of a future development of whose magnitude it is impossible to form an estimate.

§ 2

NEW ZEALAND

In 1769 Captain Cook landed in New Zealand and proclaimed it British in the name of King George III. He afterwards circumnavigated the islands and carefully examined their coasts. At that time the Fish

of Maui (North Island) had a considerable population of Maori. The number has been estimated at 100,000 ; the southern islands were, by comparison, empty, and are supposed to have had not more than 5000 natives, who in character were decidedly inferior to their northern relatives. The latter were divided into five great tribes with numerous sub-tribes and clans. They had chiefs and chiefs of chiefs, constantly at war with one another. Possessing many high qualities, such as courage and intense respect for noble qualities, they were cruel to conquered foes and practisers of cannibalism. Samuel Marsden, the great-hearted missionary, deservedly won their affectionate esteem, and the influence he acquired over them had the most potent effect in the course of colonisation. He met their chiefs as equals ; himself scrupulously respected their rights, and, as the years went on and the white settlers multiplied, he protected those rights from invasion. In this he was ably seconded by the Reverends H. and W. Williams of the London Missionary Society. The missionaries, more than the official resident or the settlers, were the first builders of modern New Zealand, for they dealt with the land question righteously, and were active in promoting peace and averting tribal war. They also taught the Maori to distinguish between the good white man and the bad, and by creating a good impression of the English in the early stages of colonisation they promoted its later progress.

W. C. Wentworth, in the spirit of Raleigh in America, and his own namesake Strafford in Ireland, had great designs on New Zealand land, but his plan was frustrated by the Governor of New South Wales. Up till the separation from the last-mentioned state in 1841, the "Government" of New Zealand hardly deserved the name—the official resident (tardily despatched), named James Busby, without means of enforcing his orders, had to look on impotently while native wars raged, and tribes and chiefs who

were well disposed to the British implored aid or protection against hostile neighbours.

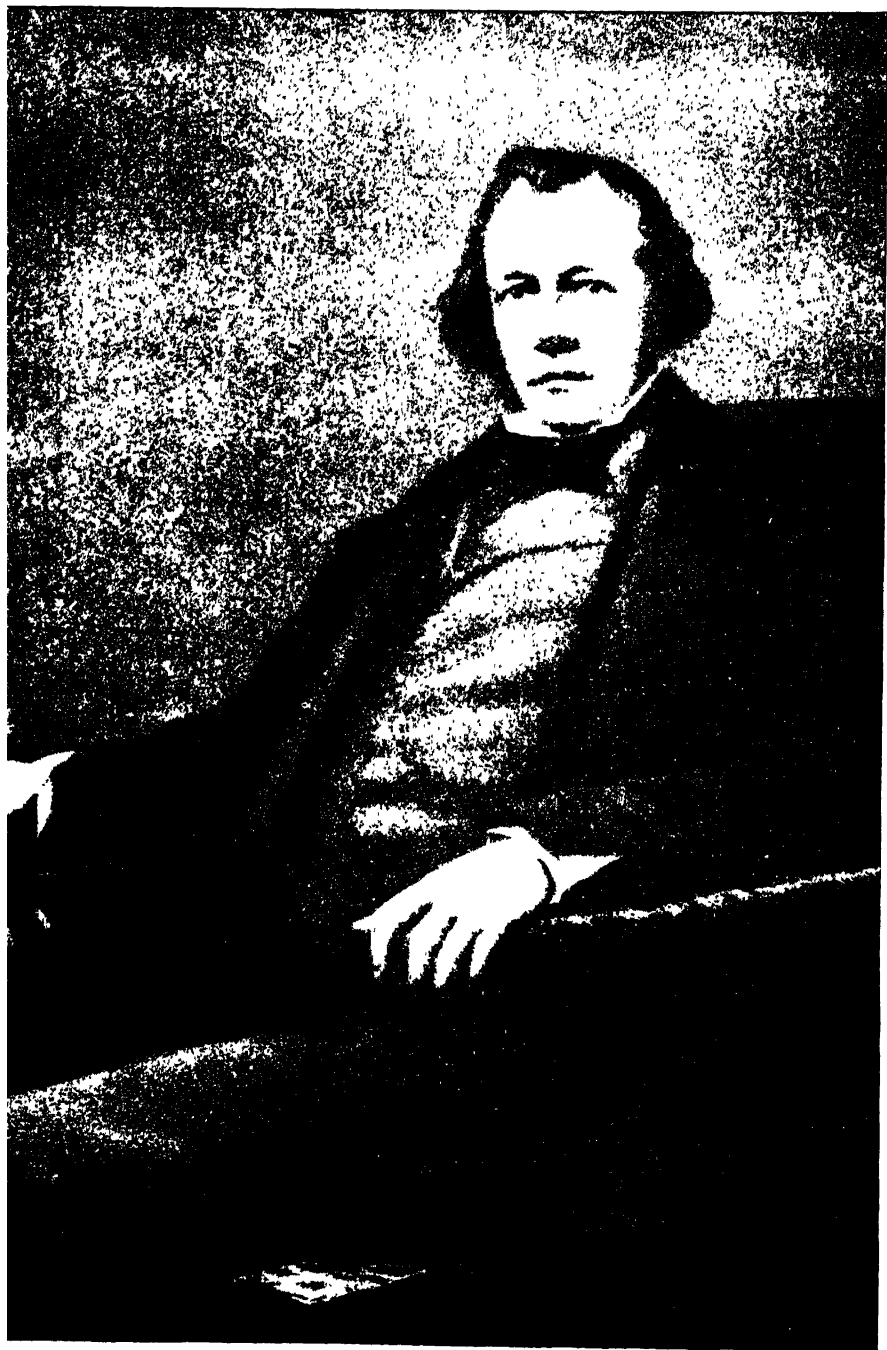
Gun-running was practised by unworthy whites, and did much to disturb the country; and there was trafficking in land between white settlers or promoters of settlement and the Maori which could not be described as just or equitable. The French made at least two casts to try to get a hook into "The Fish," or Northern Island, and a more determined effort to establish themselves in Greenstone Island at Akaroa on the Banks Peninsula.

British trading settlements were dotted round the coast of both islands.

Then the New Zealand Company was formed in England, and Colonel W. Wakefield, brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the scientific coloniser, hastened to the country to make extraordinary bargains with the chiefs for the purchase of territories (1839).

These events brought reactions. Busby had recommended a Protectorate over the Islands. Governor Gipps of New South Wales was compelled—in consequence of the French attitude—to proclaim jurisdiction over the whole of New Zealand, and Captain William Hobson was sent as Governor. He immediately concluded the celebrated Treaty of Waitangi with the principal chiefs, whereby the Maori accepted British sovereignty in return for a guarantee of their lands, forests, and fisheries to the native tribes, families, and individuals. In 1841 Hobson established Auckland as the capital.

The Maori were a people with a stable and beautiful language, easily taught to read and write, and of high intelligence. They were quite unlike the Australian native, and their civilisation was at a different stage. In Australia individual ownership of land was unknown; not so in New Zealand; yet colonisers, especially the "scientific" ones, were disinclined to distinguish between the rights of one set of "savages" and another. In the eyes of both the Land Company and



Edward Gibbon Wakefield. [1796-1862].
[From the Portrait at the Royal Colonial Institute]

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some of the Maori themselves, but for different reasons, the Treaty of Waitangi was soon regarded as fly-blown, and called a "humbug." Yet it was an agreement honourable to England had its terms been carried out in their integrity from the first. Trouble followed, and futile attempts at government, and the settling of a harvest of disputes over land sales and other matters.

It was not until the great man who had just taught the infant province of South Australia how to walk, was despatched to New Zealand as Governor in 1845 that the process of rescuing it from the scrimmage of hacking and kicking in which it had become involved can be said to have begun.

Like Marsden, Sir George (Hori) Grey honoured the Maori, and was worshipped by them. He learnt their language and met them on even terms. That he would fight them if necessary was in their eyes no demerit. His way of dealing with those whom he had subdued tended to popularise his successes, and make subjection assume the light of a privilege—very much in the way that in Papua causes confinement in a Government jail at the present day to be regarded by the natives as a desirable thing.

Grey stands head and shoulders above any other "builder" of Empire in New Zealand. When he arrived he found a native revolt in progress and two white parties in opposition—the "missionary" party, acting in the native interest, on the one hand, and on the other, the New Zealand Company's interests represented by Wakefield, who had made huge purchases, for small considerations, of lands which were measured by different rules by the buyers and the sellers. A commissioner, Mr. W. Spain, had been sent out previously to settle disputes, but in spite of his efforts they flamed into what is known as Heke's Rebellion.

With the help of some British troops and pro-British natives, this was put down, and Heke and his

followers pardoned and restored to their treaty rights. Grey bought land on fair terms and made roads, organised the country, and prepared the way for the Constitution, which was established in 1852. He left the country prosperous and pacific in 1855.

But trouble again ensued, leading to a relapse into chaos and anarchy which culminated in a war with the natives.

To restore order, Sir George Grey was sent back in 1861 for a second term of government. The history of the next few years is a complex of peace and war. Hostilities broke out again over the establishment of the "King" country, or Maori State in the north. In 1863-64 there was a considerable number of British troops engaged with various tribes, though in all this turbulence many of the Maori chiefs were on the Government side. Grey's second term as Governor ended in 1867, and the bulk of the regiments had then been sent home. The rest followed in 1869, and since then no others have had to serve in New Zealand.

The Maori's rights in their lands were recognised and preserved, and all later alienations have been on market terms.

The New Zealand Company declined and died, leaving, however, the Canterbury (English) and the Otago (Scottish) Settlements in the south as transferees by purchase of some of the territories it had acquired.

Wellington was nominated as the capital in 1865, and the General Assembly consisting of Legislative Council and House of Representatives is held here.

After his second governorship, Sir George Grey returned and made his home in New Zealand. He took part in local politics as a member of the General Assembly, and became Premier in 1879. In advanced old age he attended the first Federal Convention held in Sydney in 1890, while the question whether New Zealand should come into the projected confederation or not was still undecided. From a consideration of

the full record of his beneficent career, it will be seen that its scope is greater than that of any other Australasian statesman. He was a great builder of Empire in both Commonwealth and Dominion, and though New Zealand may owe more to him, his services in Australia were of like quality if of less magnitude and length.

The name of George Augustus Selwyn, a protagonist in the school of muscular Christianity, and said to be the prototype of Frank Maberly in Henry Kingsley's novel, *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, who was consecrated as the first Bishop of New Zealand, should not be forgotten, for he played an important part in the country's history before the late Queen Victoria reclaimed him for an English See. He, with Sir W. Martin, Chief Justice, strongly protested against the repudiation of the Treaty of Waitangi, and later acted in the natives' interests in demanding judicial investigation of titles to land alleged to have been purchased from Maori transferors.

As a magistrate in the north, appointed by Grey (1861), Sir J. Gorst—afterwards one of Mr. Gladstone's ministers—helped to restore order in place of that "utter anarchy" under which he described the whole population as labouring.

From 1869 Sir Donald Maclean was Native Minister. He had previously been head of the Native Land Purchasing Department, and was a man of the school of Grey, who not only knew the country and the Maori, but had infinite tact and patience. He died in 1877, leaving little more of the work for which he was so peculiarly well fitted still to do.

The constant collisions between native and *pakeha* (whites) was ended for all time by "King" Tawhiao's declaration:—

"The Maoris and pakehas shall be as one people: obey the laws of the Queen and respect them in every way as loyal subjects; every native acting contrary

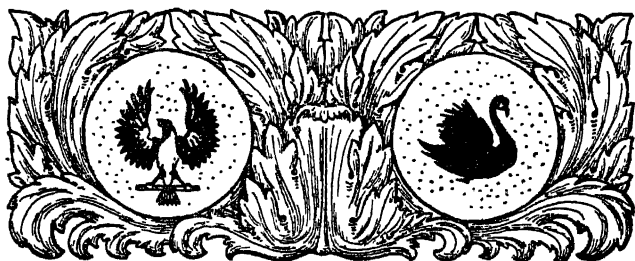
to the Queen's laws shall undergo the same punishment as the pakeha."

Thus one of Grey's first proclamations at last became effective for his justification for fighting was that the Maori had accepted British sovereignty, and hence it was his duty to prevent them as subjects from warring against each other.

The greater figures in the politics of New Zealand, considered in the light of a constitutional dominion, would include the names of Sir F. A. Weld, Sir W. Fox, Sir H. Atkinson, as some of the early Premiers. Sir Julius Vogel, treasurer to Sir W. Fox and afterwards Premier, staggered the country with the boldness of his financial policy and the extent of his loans.

The radical or progressive programmes launched by Grey and Sir R. Stout were continued by J. Ballance and Sir R. Seddon, and the lines upon which they had started led up to the "Labour" platforms which in the last years of the nineteenth century dominated local politics.

Since then the services of men who are still living have mainly contributed to the present health and prosperity of a land which is one of the most wonderful and most beautiful in the world.



Badges of
South Australia. West Australia.

CHAPTER X

MAKERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE

It is characteristic of the Constitution of the Empire that it has grown by a process of natural development, "broadening down from precedent to precedent," with a minimum of violent change. The process of alteration has, indeed, been constant, but each advance has normally been of a minor character, though it has precluded important developments. But from time to time changes of high importance have been devised to meet needs which had become clamant, and men of strong individuality have made decisive contributions towards the formation of new groupings within the Empire. Yet it is characteristic that even in these cases the element of individual invention must not be exaggerated; research often shows that the credit for a project of reform rests rather with a group of men than with any one person. But in these cases it is just to assign the chief credit to the statesman, who accepted responsibility and by his public position was able to secure effective operation for a scheme, which else might have remained a mere aspiration. To invent a constitutional device is often easier than to recognise its merit, and to turn it into actuality, against the apathy and opposition with which every change in the established order of things is normally met.

There was singularly little ingenuity displayed in early colonial constitutional arrangements. On the one hand we have the primitive doctrine that the conqueror of a colony possesses unquestioned right of government and may deal with it at pleasure, and on the other the constitution of the Chartered Company with its governor, assisted by a board equivalent

to directors, and a general court of the Freemen of the Company, a system with obvious analogies to the form of government in Great Britain, and in its territorial application deeply influenced by the contemporary theory of the British constitution. The difficulties of controlling distant territories, and the demand of settlers that they should preserve in their new homes the British doctrines of "no taxation without representation" and the making of laws by consent of the people, resulted in the eighteenth century in America in the existence of communities in which the legislative power in all internal matters was in the hands of elective assemblies, which by means of committees usurped much of the executive power.

To Benjamin Franklin belongs the credit of recognising the grave defects of a system, under which distinct settlements managed each its own affairs with no formal bond of unity save a distant Imperial Government, at a time when the settlers were confronted by powerful Indian tribes, and the possibility of war with French forces was always present. At a meeting of the representatives of the New England colonies in July, 1754, he obtained their assent to a federal scheme, designed especially for defence purposes, which embodied the essential idea of the direct contact of the central legislature with the people of the colonies through the power of legislation and taxation. The scheme was unacceptable both to the local assemblies, as menacing their particularism, and to the Imperial Government, as diminishing the royal power by confronting it with a body able to speak for the united colonies. Yet, as Franklin insisted, had it been carried into effect, "the colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves. There would then have been no need of troops from England. Of course, the consequent pretext for taxing America and the bloody contest it occasioned would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the

errors of states and princes." Federation was to come only when the American colonies had achieved independence and had proved that a loose confederation was wholly inadequate to maintain the unity in some degree achieved through the pressure of war. But the influence of the able group of men, who established the constitution of the United States of America, and in special of Alexander Hamilton, on the development of the British Empire, is indelibly imprinted on the federal constitutions of Canada and Australia.

The gathering clouds in New England warned the Imperial Government of the danger that might arise from its feeble control over the American colonies, and the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, issued on the final acquisition of Canada from France by the Treaty of Paris, which had promised the new territories constitutional government on the American pattern, remained unexecuted, a result the less surprising in that the French habitants were admittedly unprepared to exercise the duties of electors or members. An important part in the development of the new policy of closer Imperial control was played by Sir Guy Carleton (later Lord Dorchester), who was Lieutenant-Governor, or Governor, of Quebec from 1766 to 1778, and again Governor first of Quebec and then of British North America, from 1786 to 1796, although he actually spent the years 1770-4 and 1791-3 in England. Carleton at the same time realised the importance of just and generous treatment of the French Canadians; he was active in securing that the Roman Catholic religion should be officially recognised, and the Quebec Act of 1774, while it refused the people an Assembly, which in point of fact was desired only by the English minority, gratified the French by its acceptance of the French civil law, and its assertion of the rights of the Roman Catholic clergy to receive their customary dues, exemption being accorded to those who were not Catholics. The policy adopted

had its reward in the success in retaining Canada within the Empire during the War of American Independence, but the influx of loyalists from the seceding colonies on the establishment of peace, introduced a stronger demand for representative institutions, and rendered less appropriate the form of government which Carleton preferred. The Constitutional Act of 1791, which created representative legislatures in Lower and Upper Canada, won only reluctant assent from him, but he showed political sagacity in his support of a scheme for the creation of a central legislature for British North America, proposed by Chief Justice Smith, a loyalist from New York, and in his efforts to curb the irresponsibility and greed of the officers who served under him.

The Constitution of 1791 established irresponsible legislatures, confronted by officials responsible only to a distant and ill-informed government, and disposed to regard with suspicion and dislike any claims by the legislatures, a legacy of evil from the War of Independence, increased in the case of Lower Canada by the fact that the population, as of French origin, was presumably of dubious loyalty. The analogy of the British Constitution suggested readily enough the conclusion that the administration should be entrusted by the Governor to ministers possessing the confidence of the legislature in lieu of officials; but the idea was regarded with unmitigated hostility by successive British Governments, until the impossibility of the continuance of the existing system was proved by the practically contemporaneous rebellions under L. Papineau in Lower Canada and William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada at the close of 1837. The mission of Lord Durham was the outcome of these disasters, and, aided by the acute minds of Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield, he developed successfully the doctrine that the one remedy for the evils of the existing situation lay in entrusting the government to those persons who could command the

approval of the Assembly. There must, he recognised, be some limit to the authority of the colonial executive, but it should be restricted within the narrowest bounds; the constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations and of trade with the mother-country, the other British colonies, and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands, alone should be reserved for Imperial control. He would have preferred federation, but he felt that, in the absence of communications and in the need of an early settlement, to attempt this was premature, and so little did he appreciate the strength of the French national character that he believed that by a union of the two Canadas there would at no distant date be evolved a single Canadian population, British at heart, under the beneficent influence of responsible government. His miscalculations, however, were of negligible importance, compared with his success in persuading the British Parliament of the fact that responsible government was the legitimate right of the British people of North America. Lord John Russell might point out the logical difficulty involved in responsible government in a dependency, since the Governor might be confronted with a discrepancy between his instructions from the Crown and the advice of a local ministry, but he accepted the proposal for the union of the Canadas, and he laid down the all-important principle that the heads of departments were no longer to hold office on the usual official tenure, that is, virtually during good behaviour, but must retire when desirable on political grounds. The victory was in effect achieved; less than twenty years later saw responsible government readily conceded to the other provinces in North America, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and the Australian colonies other than Western Australia.

Lord Durham had suggested that certain important matters, of more than local concern, should remain within Imperial control. But the difficulties and

responsibilities of the control of the public land, as well as local feeling, led to the surrender at an early date of Imperial authority, while the adoption of a free trade policy in the United Kingdom led to the abandonment also of any attempt to regulate the tariff policy of the colonies. The beginnings of a protective tariff in Canada in 1859 evoked from the Duke of Newcastle some criticism; Sir Alexander Galt, with much firmness, repudiated any suggestion of Imperial interference; "self-government," he wrote, "would be utterly annihilated if the views of the Imperial Government were to be preferred to those of the people of Canada. It is therefore the duty of the present Government distinctly to affirm the right of the Canadian legislature to adjust the taxation of the people in the way they deem best, even if it should unfortunately happen to meet the disapproval of the Imperial ministry. Her Majesty cannot be advised to disallow such acts, unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the colony irrespective of the views of its inhabitants." So stern a rebuke was possibly hardly deserved by the mild platitudes of the duke, but the principle thus asserted was vital, and it was successfully invoked from time to time in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to secure the withdrawal of every remnant of control exercised by the Imperial Government or its representative over such internal matters as the exercise of the prerogative of mercy or the control of matters affecting aborigines.

Galt at the same time was an eager advocate of federation for the provinces of North America, whose status *vis-à-vis* the Imperial Government and the United States would thus, in his view, be greatly consolidated and strengthened. The Imperial Government for the time being was unsympathetic, but federal ideas were widespread, and the artificial union of the two Canadas had resulted in deadlock; it had never been more than formal, and a federation of the

whole of the provinces offered an obvious means by which Upper and Lower Canada might recover their separate identities. Sir John A. Macdonald would have gone further, and brought about a real union of the provinces; thus he pleaded for a "Canada united as one province and under one sovereign;" he deprecated "looking to Washington," and insisted on avoiding the defect of the United States Constitution, then glaringly revealed in the War of Secession. But the dominant voice was in favour of the looser bond of a federation, which was supported both by Mr. George Brown, as representing the desire for local autonomy of Upper Canada, and by Sir George Cartier, the trusted spokesman of the French Canadians, who demanded the preservation of their status as possessed of special religious and linguistic privileges. Oratorical fervour was lent to the movement by the eloquence of Mr. D'Arcy McGee, who declared that by union with the maritime provinces, Canada would "recover one of our lost senses—the sense that comprehends the sea." The adhesion of Nova Scotia to the scheme was in large measure due to Sir Charles Tupper, who finally succeeded in the difficult task of inducing Mr. Joseph Howe, who had rendered yeoman service in the struggle for responsible government in the maritime provinces, to accept the inclusion of the province in the federation of 1867. Macdonald loyally accepted the necessity of being satisfied with a federation in lieu of union; but he successfully pressed for the fundamental principle that the central government and Parliament should be far stronger than the Government and Congress in the United States, and in the result the federal constitution adopts the plan of assigning to the provinces definite spheres of action in local and private matters within the provinces, while general legislative power in regard to all matters of common interest to Canada together with all residual authority rests with the federation.

The federation of Canada naturally strengthened

the tentative movement in Australia for the union of the growing colonies in some effective bond, and in 1867, the year of federation, at an Inter-colonial Conference on the subject of postal communications with Europe, Sir Henry Parkes advocated the formation of an Australian Federation, an idea long before warmly advocated by Lord Grey, as Secretary of State. But the absence of any foreign menace and divergences of tariff policy interposed grave obstacles to progress, and it was not until March, 1891 that Sir Henry Parkes had the satisfaction of seeing the meeting of the Australasian Convention at Sydney, though he was not fated to live to see brought about the federation, on which he had set his heart and which his enthusiasm had rendered possible. He had firmly declined to be any party to the imperfect scheme of confederation embodied in the Federal Council of Australasia set up in 1883, for he recognised that any effective body must possess direct power to control defence and cognate matters as well as the more important aspects of industrial affairs. In the actual drafting of the Constitution, Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland, took a decisive part, and from 1903, as Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, he expressed his conception of the Constitution in his judicial interpretations. The only form of federation which he held possible was one strictly based on the American model, in which the states should be the repositories of the residual power, since none of the then colonies would consent to a more effective form of union. He aimed, therefore, at creating a Constitution in which the powers of the states and of the Commonwealth should, as far as possible, be exercised without interfering with one another's sphere of action. He advocated also the equality of the representation of the states in the Senate, contrary to the Canadian model, but one prediction of his has failed to be verified: he doubted the possibility of combining responsible government in the British form with the

equality in power of the two houses of the legislature ; but experience has proved the falsity of a contemporary's prediction that " either responsible government would kill federation or federation would kill responsible government." In the later stages of the federal movement great service was rendered by Sir Edmund Barton in New South Wales, and he became the first Federal Prime Minister in January, 1901.

In South Africa also federation was delayed. Lord Carnarvon, as Secretary of State, had presided over the passage of the British North America Act, and, fired by the federal spirit, he sought in 1876-7 to bring about a union of the South African colonies with the Transvaal and Orange Free State, commissioning Sir Bartle Frere for this purpose. The effort was premature, for it rested on no real local support, and the subsequent trend of history, by widening the gulf between Briton and Boer, seemed to render any union out of the question. But the conquest of the republics in 1902, which was followed by a period of Crown Colony government, was redeemed by a great act of statesmanship in 1906-7. Inspired by the example of Lord Durham, the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman decided to take the grave risk of conferring responsible government on the colonies, despite the certainty of Boer majorities in the legislatures, and the experiment, for which the credit lies with the Prime Minister himself, proved a brilliant success, largely, of course, through the honesty and statesmanship of General Louis Botha. In 1908-9 economic causes led to the decision to bring about union in South Africa ; the alternative of federation after long consideration was finally laid aside, in large measure thanks to the efforts of John X. Merriman, who realised clearly that the economic conditions of the colonies, as well as the native question, precluded any satisfactory solution through the medium of a federation with its strict division of powers and its limitations on the authority of the Central Government and

Legislature. The Constitution, in its final form, owed much also to the legal acumen of Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope, who presided over the South Africa National Convention of 1909, and in the next year became the Chief Justice of the newly-created Union.

The federation of the several groups of colonies immediately placed them in a definitely new attitude towards the United Kingdom, a fact urged by Lord Selborne as one of the reasons for federation or union in South Africa. Sir John Macdonald expressed the same fact in his desire for the title of Kingdom of Canada, an honour refused by the Imperial Government from fear of exciting republican resentment in the United States. His fall from office in 1873 left the assertion of the new status to the able hands of Mr. Edward Blake, as a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Liberal administration. He asserted in the widest terms the absolute independence of Canada of Imperial control in all domestic concerns, and he obtained after a visit to London the wholesale revision of the prerogative instruments defining the duties and powers of the Governor-General, so as to bring the formal authority of that officer into harmony with the new status of the Dominion. He gave utterance also to the fundamental doctrine that Canada had the right to full national status, but that she could not attain it so long as she was too deeply immersed in dealing with domestic issues of pressing importance in a great and sparsely settled country. "The time will come," he said in a famous speech at Aurora in 1874, "when that national spirit which has been spoken of will be truly felt among us, when we shall realise that we are four millions of Britons who are not free, when we shall be ready to take up that freedom and to ask what the late Prime Minister of England assured us we should not be denied, our share of national rights." Though the Liberals fell from power in 1878, one aspect of the nationalist doctrine was maintained by Sir

John Macdonald, whose policy of high protection emphasised the independence of Canada in the sphere of internal affairs, while his successor, Sir John Thompson, maintained energetically the doctrine that Imperial legislation must no longer be deemed binding on Canada save with her consent. It fell, however, to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his Premiership from 1896-1911 to develop to the utmost the doctrine of the autonomy of Canada within the Empire. His appreciation of the value of the Imperial connection was shown in the spontaneous grant of preference to Britain in 1897, but the Colonial Conferences of that year, of 1902 and 1907, found him resolutely opposed to any scheme for drawing closer the relations of the United Kingdom and the Dominions; even in 1911 at the Imperial Conference, he reasserted his position by declining to press on the Imperial Government the duty of consulting the Dominions in regard to foreign policy in general, as opposed to issues directly affecting Canada, on the score that consultation would imply some measure of responsibility. Without asserting the doctrine of the power of Canada to remain neutral in a British war, which he recognised as impossible under international law, he maintained firmly that it lay with the Parliament of the Dominion alone to decide whether and to what extent it would participate in any such war, though as Prime Minister in 1899-1902, and as Leader of the Opposition in 1914, he eagerly approved the rendering of succour to the Empire in the Boer War and the Great War. Any suggestion of Imperial intervention in Canadian affairs he firmly repelled, declining absolutely to agree to any permanent organisation in London even with advisory powers as regard Dominion affairs. He resented also in some measure the necessity of arranging commercial treaties through the Imperial Government, from which, in 1907, he obtained the concession that Canadian ministers might negotiate direct with foreign governments as representatives of the Crown without

the active intervention of British diplomats. Of greater importance was a practice, which he initiated in 1910-11, of informal agreements on trade matters with foreign powers ; successful in the case of Germany, Italy, and Belgium, he secured in 1911 an agreement for reciprocity with the United States, whose rejection by the people of Canada at the General Election ensuing led to his retirement from office. Relying on the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, it was only with reluctance, in view of the needs of Canadian development, that he decided after the Naval and Military Conference in London of 1909 to initiate an independent Canadian navy.

Australian federation evoked likewise the assertion of autonomy, but the danger to the Commonwealth from the possibility of Japanese aggression, and the manifest inability of Australia to maintain her vast lands with her small population, engendered a keener sense of the necessity of co-operation. To Mr. Alfred Deakin belongs the credit of first making definite proposals for the creation of a Commonwealth navy, independent in time of peace of Admiralty control, and even on the outbreak of war passing under that control only by the decision of the Commonwealth Government. At the same time he aimed at the consolidation of the Empire by a system of Imperial Preference, revising the doctrine, which Mr. Joseph Chamberlain had brought forward in 1903, by a frank recognition of the impossibility of giving effect to that statesman's suggestion that, in return for a British preference on food imports, the Dominions should refrain from giving protection to any new industries which would vie with British exports of manufactured articles. It was entirely in harmony with Mr. Deakin's general attitude when Mr. Andrew Fisher, as Labour Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, raised at the Imperial Conference of 1911 the issue of the right of the Dominions to be consulted in the making of great international arrangements such as the

treaties agreed on by the Hague Conferences on Peace, a claim readily conceded by the Imperial Government.

The complete internal autonomy of the Dominions had thus been attained, while the question of foreign relations was yet hardly effectively touched upon, when the Great War of 1914-20, by imposing great sacrifices on the Dominions in the struggle to preserve the freedom of the Empire and of Europe, rendered the question of the control of foreign policy and the issues of war and peace one of immediate interest to the Dominions. To General Smuts, who served as a member of the British War Cabinet for war purposes as well as in the Imperial Cabinet, the problem presented itself in a form complicated by the existence in the Union of South Africa of a powerful Nationalist movement, which aimed ultimately at the complete independence of the Union. The doctrine of Dominion status, which in these circumstances he developed, was insistent on the recognition, not merely as hitherto of the internal autonomy of the Dominions, but of their equality in rank and formal authority, and on this score General Smuts joined forces with Sir Robert Borden for Canada and Mr. W. Hughes for Australia, in demanding recognition of the distinct status of the Dominions in the form of negotiation of the peace treaties, in the mode of signature, and in ratification, and in securing for the Dominions a distinct place in the League of Nations beside the British Empire, now introduced for the first time formally into diplomatic phraseology. Sir Robert Borden proceeded to the not illogical step of pressing for the appointment of a special representative of Canada at Washington, who would convey direct to the Government of the United States the views of Canada on all questions affecting her exclusively, while other British interests would fall to be dealt with by the British Ambassador. The demand was assented to by the Imperial Government on conditions intended to maintain the unity of the diplomatic representation of the Empire, and

in point of fact Sir R. Borden retired, on the score of ill-health, from office without making the appointment proposed. In this demand Mr. Hughes did not concur, pointing out that logically it would result that the Commonwealth should have her own representative at Washington with the possibility of embarrassment and confusion. General Smuts, in view of the lack of pressing need for any special Union representation, contented himself with insisting that the precedent of the Peace Treaty meant that the Dominions could be bound in future treaties only with their formal assent, expressed by their representatives, and on that score protested successfully against the suggestion that the Imperial representatives alone should participate in the conference on limitation of armaments and the Far East at Washington in 1921. Consistently with this attitude, he announced the doctrine that the Imperial veto of Union legislation was dead, save in the case of an Act to sever the connection of the Union with the Crown, a conception which suggests the idea of the Empire as consisting of a personal union of states under one sovereign, that union being indissoluble at least by any action on the part of an individual member. This negatives the doctrine, once formally expressed by Mr. Bonar Law, which assumes that any Dominion would be permitted to withdraw from the Empire if it so desired.

In Canada the advent of the Liberals to power has revived the traditions of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Mr. Mackenzie King's insistence on the sole right of Parliament to commit Canada in foreign affairs, a view on the score of which in September, 1922, he declined to pledge Canadian aid in the crisis at the Dardanelles, while, in securing the sole signature of the Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the Pacific Halibut Fisheries Treaty of March 2nd, 1923, he carried one step further the doctrine of his former chief in favour of the Canadian management of

treaty negotiations chiefly affecting the Dominion. The same spirit manifested itself in his refusal at the Imperial Conference of 1923 to put any pressure on the British Government or people to alter its fiscal policy in order to give a preference to the Dominion, while he reiterated his firm conviction of the impossibility of any closer union of the Empire, and could give no undertaking of Canadian participation in military or naval defence. The special position of Canada in its relation to the United States explains adequately this attitude, while New Zealand's comparative isolation equally renders it easy to understand that both Sir Joseph Ward before 1912 and Mr. Massey have favoured some form of closer co-operation with the Imperial Government in defence and foreign affairs.

The war also gave a definitive direction to the long-vexed question of the position of Ireland. The doctrine of local self-government, advocated by Mr. C. S. Parnell and Mr. W. E. Gladstone, and almost achieved before the war, had already been opposed by enthusiasts who demanded nothing less than total separation. The movement under the leadership, often nominal, of Mr. E. de Valera, succeeded at last in wearing out the patience of the Imperial Government, which, faced with the alternative of war on a large scale or compromise, decided to yield Dominion status, with certain reservations for defence, and with the exclusion of Northern Ireland. One constitutional innovation, however, of the greatest importance was insisted on by the Irish delegates, the placing of the relations of the United Kingdom and of the Irish Free State on the basis of a treaty, a point emphasised by Mr. de Valera, although the treaty which he proposed would have formally made Ireland an independent sovereign power. Even the existing treaty, in the view of Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, who took charge of the draft constitution of the new state in the convention which enacted it, is not a perpetual pact of union,

nor does Ireland bind herself to remain for ever within the Empire. The right to secede, therefore, is inherent in the relationship of the parts of the Empire, a view which contrasts with that of General Smuts and also with the general opinion of British politicians, who hold that, whatever the case may be as regards the Dominions, the proximity of the Free State to Britain renders its existence as an independent state undesirable.

Scarcely less important was the effect of the war on India. Constitutionally but the faintest advance towards the admission of the people to a share in their own control was made until the advent to the India Office of Lord Morley of Blackburn. Lord Morley insisted that he had no intention of introducing Parliamentary Government into India, but none the less, both by increasing the size and augmenting the functions of the local legislatures, he paved the way by the legislation of 1909 for the demand for a fuller participation in the government which was widely voiced when India had shown her interest in the welfare of Britain by her valuable contributions to success in the war. The credit for the important, though cumbrous and transitory, form of dual government granted to the provinces and the increased power of the central legislature, must be ascribed in part to Lord Chelmsford, as Governor-General, and in part to Mr. E. S. Montagu, who, in addition to the initial difficulty of resolving on a scheme from among the varied possibilities, advocated by experts, had to bear the brunt of securing its acceptance from a Cabinet, of whose number some regarded with much doubt the whole project, and of piloting the bill through a critical House of Commons in such a form as to ensure acceptance by a strongly Conservative House of Lords.

In India itself, recent years have produced a large number of enlightened politicians, but few who have made any markedly new contribution to constitutional

theory. Of high importance, however, from the point of view of Imperial relations was the work of Mr. Gokhale, whose death unhappily occurred before the later developments of Indian aspirations, which he might have aided in guiding aright. It was largely due to him that the conception of the right of Indians to receive equal treatment throughout the Empire became a living belief among the educated people of India and the grave error of Indian emigration under indenture was recognised, while on a visit to South Africa he mediated, with some measure of success for the time, between his countrymen and the Union Government. Though the degree of self-government for India which he advocated in his famous testament fell short of what was conceded in 1919, it was carefully conceived, and, had it been applied when it was thought out, the progress of government in India might have been more smooth and effective. As it was, his successor in intellectual leadership was the more emotional and less practical M. K. Gandhi, whose contribution to constitutional progress has been the negative policy of non-co-operation between the people and the Government until the Government is entirely in the hands of the people. But he has failed to present any easily intelligible concrete picture of the form of government which he would see achieved in India if the control of Britain were withdrawn. On the other hand, there must be placed his unswerving insistence on the drastic reformation of the Hindu conception of caste, and on the abandonment of the doctrine that certain classes are so impure as to be "untouchable," which he recognises as a negation of humanity and justice, and his demand for the co-operation of Hindu and Mohammedan. However remote the realisation of these ideals, it remains true that both are essential for the orderly development of India, and that Gandhi's efforts to these ends will prove of permanent worth.

In the great majority of cases, it will be seen,

development in Imperial relations has been due to the activity of Dominion politicians, while the Imperial Government has had the less active rôle of acceptance with modifications of proposals from without. Much valuable work has been done by successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies, but it has seldom been actively constructive. The reasons for this are obvious. A minister in the United Kingdom has many demands on his time which leave him scant leisure for original work, and any activity which may arouse opposition in Parliament would excite dissatisfaction in the Cabinet, whose chief concern is with internal affairs. The weight of the tradition of the Colonial Office is naturally thrown in the balance against change, which would involve fresh intellectual effort and alteration of accepted standards. Moreover, there is the important consideration that the Dominions, as is natural with young communities, have always regarded suggestions from the Secretary of State as possible encroachments on their right of self-government, and that often wisdom has suggested that any initiative for change should proceed from the Dominions themselves. It is more surprising, perhaps, that so little constructive ability has been shown as regards constitutional change in Crown Colonies, and that no concession as regards control has been made save under local pressure. The doctrine, that it is the function of a Government to create political interest where it does not exist, seems first to have been accepted by Mr. Montagu in connection with the scheme of reform for India, and the coldness of its reception in the United Kingdom is sufficiently significant of the unpopularity of the idea.

Mention, however, is due to Lord Ripon's clear exposition, in the case of the dispute between Lord Glasgow and the ministry of Mr. J. Ballance in New Zealand in 1892, of the limits of resistance by a Governor to the views of his ministers on the addition of members to a nominee Upper House, and his declaration in

1895 of the principles affecting the unity of the Empire in treaty negotiation. Mr. J. Chamberlain's activity was largely displayed in schemes for the economic regeneration of the West Indies and the development of the West African territories, to which great additions were made during his tenure of office. But he endeavoured by the Colonial Conferences of 1897 and 1902 to induce the colonies to take an active part in Imperial defence, and in his dealing with the issue of the Newfoundland railways he asserted clearly the doctrine that it was no part of the duty of the Imperial Government to intervene in the internal affairs of any colony possessing responsible government, even to prevent the perpetration of serious errors. Newfoundland also evoked from Lord Elgin in 1907 an important pronouncement regarding the relative rights and duties of the United Kingdom and the colonies in matters of foreign relations. Mr. L. V. Harcourt, with the concurrence of Sir Robert Borden, made in 1912 an interesting, though then unsuccessful, effort to induce the Dominions to take a more active share in framing the foreign policy of the Empire, suggesting the appointment to London of resident ministers, whose function it should be to keep the Imperial and Dominion Governments in effective touch. He reasserted also in 1914, in connection with the action of the Government of the Union of South Africa in dealing with labour troubles on the Rand, the doctrine that intervention of any kind by the Imperial Government must be ruled out of possibility. Since the war, however, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has lost in status as regards the Dominions by the institution of direct communications between the Prime Ministers of the Empire as members of the Imperial Conference, and, in view of the preoccupations of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the rôle of initiation seems destined to pass still more decisively to the Dominions and India.

CHAPTER XI

MISSIONARIES AND THE EMPIRE

SPACE would not permit, even if the writer were competent, to survey the manifold activities of missionaries in the Empire. It would, however, be a grave omission in a book dealing with some of the pioneers who have helped to build up this great Commonwealth if attention were not specifically directed to the remarkable influence which these messengers of the Christian faith have wielded not only in civilising and uplifting heathen races but also in aiding the growth and development of the Empire. In the task of evangelisation, in educational work and in translating the Scriptures, in weaning pagan tribes from such social evils as infanticide, killing of mothers, human sacrifices, cannibalism and polygamy, in discouraging inter-tribal wars and rebellions, in generally inculcating the Christian virtues as well as in acting as the spokesmen and the champions of the rights of inarticulate masses of human beings, they have contributed at once to the good of humanity, and to the peaceful progress and stability of civil administration. As a rule they have followed the trader and the administrator, with the former of whom they have frequently come into conflict, but often they have been the explorers and pioneers of civilisation, and, perhaps unwittingly, have had more influence on the expansion of the Empire than many so-called "Imperialists," whose name and doctrines they would indignantly eschew. But, above all, notwithstanding the lamentable divisions among Christians, these messengers of God, of whatever denomination, have shown the highest devotion, often at the sacrifice of

their lives, in spreading the Gospel in the darkest places of the earth.

Though the great modern era of Christian missionary activity did not begin until towards the end of the eighteenth century, and then mainly as a result of the evangelical movement and the agitation for the abolition of slavery, the last command of Christ to preach the Gospel to all mankind and to make disciples of all the nations, was not entirely forgotten. Magellan, whose surviving ship the *Vittoria* returned to Spain in 1522 after circumnavigating the globe for the first time in history, was himself killed in the Philippines while trying to convert the natives to Christianity. The Portuguese, in the forefront of early navigators, kept in view the Christianisation of the natives as they founded their stations along the African coast. Dominicans and Jesuits about the middle of the sixteenth century penetrated into the country along the Congo and the Zambesi, enduring privations and fever and constant danger of death from wild animals and savage tribes. Indeed, Father Gonçalo reached the capital of Monomotapa, and while successfully pursuing his mission, was treacherously murdered in his sleep and his body cast into the river—the first missionary martyr of South Africa. But these attempts at spreading the Gospel had no permanent results. Difficulties arose, and in 1760 the Jesuits, and in 1775 the Dominicans, were expelled by the Portuguese Government. Nearly a century later Livingstone found nothing but ruins to mark these outposts of Christianity—in one case, at Zumbo, only the remains of the chapel with a broken bell, and “the foul hyæna defiling the sanctuary.” Some faint traces of Catholic ritual were sometimes discernible in the barbaric rites of the pagan natives.

Into the West Indies Christianity was introduced by Las Casas, the great Spanish missionary, and, as some atonement for his support of the African slave trade, it spread thence through Peru and Mexico

and other provinces of the American Empire of Spain. In Canada, too, the Jesuits, fervent in their faith, often pushed on in front of the French pioneers, intent as they were on founding in New France a strong native Christianity.

The English were late in entering the field as colonists, and it was only after their breach with Rome and their triumph over Spain, that their enterprises over sea began. The formal recognition of religion, however, was not overlooked in their ventures. Sir John Hawkins, one of the foremost mariners of the age, was a leading pioneer in the nefarious slave trade that was so fraught with evils for the future. When he set out in a ship which was lent by the "Good Queen Bess" and somewhat infelicitously named the *Jesus of Lubeck*, his sailing orders included the admonition to "serve God daily." On his second voyage for slaves, when his fleet was becalmed in mid-ocean and the wind eventually arose, his comment was, "Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, send us the ordinary breeze"—an indication of both the public and private conscience of the time. In the patent granted by King James I. in 1606 to the Virginia Company which planted the first permanent British settlement beyond the seas, it was enjoined that "the word and service of God be preached, planted, and used not only in the said colony, but as much as may be, among the savages bordering upon them, according to the rites and doctrine of the Church of England." The ill-fated Sir Walter Raleigh, whose pioneering efforts at settlement in the preceding reign pointed the way for the establishment of this colony, gave the Virginia Company £100 "for the propagation of the Christian religion in the settlement"—probably the first subscription in the history of British missions. But the Church of England, though it played a part, failed to grasp the opportunity provided for missionary work in the American colonies. The need for such activity was in some respects perhaps not

very urgent nor the situation congenial. Besides political refugees discontented with conditions in the Old World and the usual sprinkling of adventurers, the original settlers included many God-fearing men and women who had fled from persecution. The Pilgrim and the Puritan, the Episcopalian and the Catholic, the Quaker and the Presbyterian and the Lutheran peopled the Atlantic coast, each with some intolerance of the tenets of the other, but all, through common suffering though from different sources, tending to a wider conception of liberty and freedom of thought. The ecclesiastical despotism of James I. and his son Charles I., backed by Laud and the Star Chamber, stimulated the self-expatriation of many of the sturdiest stock in England. Cromwell, after the Battle of Dunbar in 1651, with characteristic ruthlessness, despatched Scottish prisoners in shiploads to the plantations of North America to be sold as bondmen, and "between the Restoration in 1660 and the Revolution in 1688, multitudes of Scottish Covenanters were either transported to America as a penalty for alleged crime, or sought there a refuge from protracted persecution at home." One need not wonder, accordingly, that the revolt and revolution of these colonies were largely ascribed to the descendants of these embittered exiles.

There was a good proportion of clergymen among these emigrants, and they soon formed congregations according to the tenets of their faith. They had, however, to consolidate their own churches before they could spread the Gospel among the heathen. The Scottish church was awakening to a sense of its duties, and ten Presbyterian ministers accompanied the ill-fated Darien Expedition of 1698. They were enjoined by the General Assembly to devote their ministrations not only to their fellow-countrymen, but also to the heathen natives, and in 1700 a pastoral letter was despatched expressing the hope that "the Lord would yet honour the missionary ministers and

the Church from which they had been sent to carry His name among the heathen."

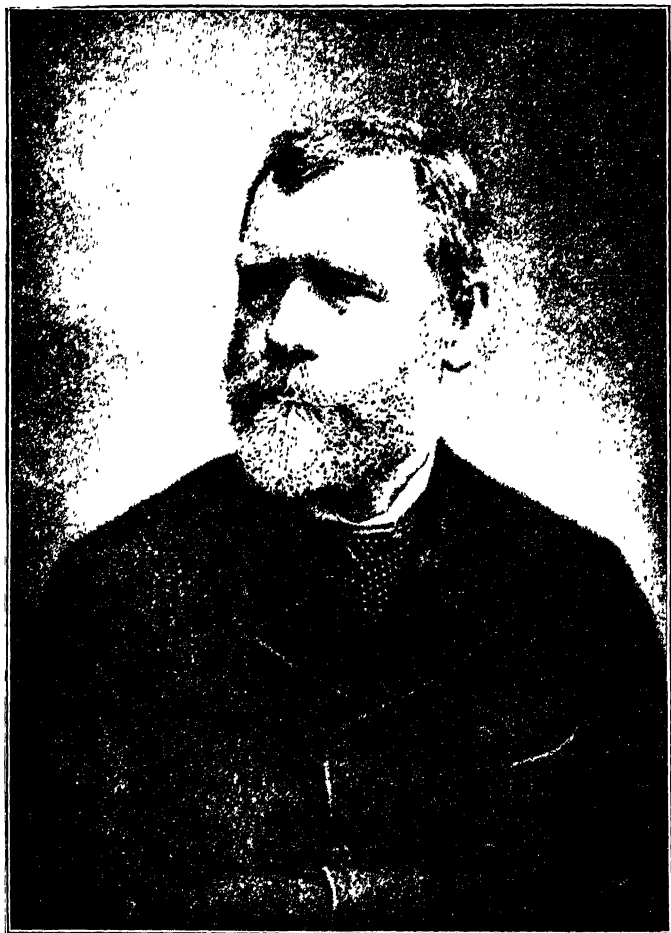
A beginning was thus made with evangelisation among the Indians, and John Eliot, an English Puritan, translated the Bible into the language of the American aborigines. The man, however, most responsible for awakening interest in the religious condition of the Red Indians, who were being driven into the forests by the advent of the European settlers, was David Brainerd, an American by birth but a representative of the Scottish Church. Amid perils and privations, in rain and in cold, he journeyed through forest wilds to the homes of the red men with the message of Christ, and his arduous mission met with wonderful success. Four years of such toil, with attacks of fever and ague, proved too much for his strength, but the moral effect and the encouraging results of his self-sacrificing labours sowed seeds which yielded a rich harvest after his death. His *Life*, written by Jonathan Edwards, proved a stimulating inspiration to missionary effort in other lands, besides the American continent.

Some attempts at pioneering missionary work among the slaves of St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1732, and somewhat later in West and South Africa, were made by the Moravians, an earnest and influential though small body of Christians from Germany, but the modern missionary movement was largely the result of the evangelical revival, due to the preaching of John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and others. The voyages and writings of Captain Cook, the revolt of the American colonies, and the French Revolution also stirred up men's minds about the conditions of life at home and abroad, and there followed the formation of various societies whose object was the evangelisation of the heathen. Of these, one of the earliest and most fruitful in its work was the London Missionary Society, which was founded in 1795 on the initiative of eight men who met in Baker's Coffee House,

London, in the preceding November. It was undenominational in character, and received support from churchmen and non-conformists, and from clergymen and laymen alike, though ultimately it became, in the main, associated with the Congregationalists. Three years previously, in 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society—also very fruitful in results—was organised as the outcome of a meeting of twelve ministers in a private parlour, and they sent Carey to India in spite of the opposition of the East India Company. The Societies for Propagating the Gospel and Christian Knowledge, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Missionary Societies of the Scottish Churches, and others in connection with different religious bodies were established from time to time, and took a more or less active share in the work.

Other nations also took some part in spreading the Gospel in these remote lands, but it was natural that Great Britain, with its command of the seas and its growing trade and expanding colonial possessions, should bear the main burden of evangelisation. It may not be amiss accordingly to glance for a moment at the history of Christianity in Great Britain itself. Ireland, which had been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, became a centre of great religious activity, and from the shores of Derry in the summer of A.D. 563, there sailed in an open coracle the pioneer-missionary, St. Columba, with twelve companions. They landed on the small island of Iona, in the Inner Hebrides, and there Columba established a monastic home as well as a missionary centre from which he and his followers spread the Gospel over the country north of the Forth and Clyde. Forty ancient dedications to the saint, from Inchcolm on the Forth to St. Colm's in the Orkneys testify to the result of his mission. But this evangelising zeal was not restricted to the Picts and the fiery clans of the north. It spread south, and a Scottish monk, St. Aidan, with his Celtic associates,

converted Lindisfarne, off the Northumbrian coast into a second Holy Isle, like Iona, with a monastery and a missionary centre which sent out the most successful evangelists of Anglo-Saxon heathendom. In the year of St. Columba's death, St. Augustine, afterwards the first Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived in Kent from Rome, and converted that part of the country to Christianity. Possessed of organising ability and a masterful personality, he founded the English Church, but, as Montalembert, the ecclesiastical historian states, "From the cloisters of Lindisfarne, Northumbrian Christianity spread over the Southern Kingdoms . . . the influence of the Celtic missionaries reaching districts which their predecessors had never been able to enter." Bishop Lightfoot also says that while Augustine of Canterbury was "the Apostle of Kent," it was not Augustine but Aidan of Iona who was the true Apostle of England, and the 'Holy Island of Lindisfarne the cradle of English Christianity.' These two churches of England and Scotland, during the next thousand years, saw many changes, and were the battleground of many controversies, intolerant divisions and cruel persecutions, which it is not the purpose of this brief sketch to follow. It is somewhat remarkable, however, that the scene of St. Columba's earliest missionary labours should some twelve centuries later send forth so many outstanding explorers and Christian pioneers to so many remote parts of the world. When the great movement for spreading the Gospel began towards the end of the eighteenth and the earlier half of the nineteenth century, there were living within a period that could be spanned by thirty years several men from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, whose exploits left their mark for good on widely distant parts of the Empire. Sir Alexander Mackenzie from Stornoway, with his henchman Mackay of Reay in Sutherland who was born near one of the ruined fanes of St. Columba, was the first white man to cross—in 1793—the



John Mackenzie. [1835-1899]. *To face pag. 300*

American continent north of Mexico. From the county of Inverness came Charles Grant, one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society and afterwards Chairman of the East India Company, who paved the way on the spot and later in the House of Commons, for missionary work in India, and who, in 1786, appointed at his own expense the first British missionary to labour in Bengal. David Livingstone, foremost of missionary-explorers in Africa, recalled with pride that his people came from "Ulva's Isle," not far from Iona. Alexander Mackay, whose name is associated for all time with Uganda, was nurtured in the mountains of Aberdeenshire. At Knockando, in Moray, where his beloved Spey on its way to the North Sea hurls its swift-flowing waters past the foot of Craigellachie,¹ was born John Mackenzie, the South African missionary and far-seeing statesman who kept open for Britain the road through Bechuanaland to the north—between filibustering Boers from the east and scheming Germans from the west. James Chalmers, "Tamate," the noted pioneer missionary of New Guinea, who, after twenty-five years of devoted service, was treacherously killed by cannibals of the Fly River, was born at Ardrishaig in the county of Argyll.

This contribution to the work of exploration and evangelisation is all the more remarkable as the area from which they sprang—the part of Scotland north of the Grampians—is the most sparsely inhabited in Britain, with a total population scarcely equal to that of a second-rate industrial town in the Midlands of England.

Reference has been made in preceding chapters to missionaries in their relation to pioneering and

¹ Other prominent pioneers from this area and about this period were James Augustus Grant and Gordon Cumming, the African travellers; Simon Fraser and Sir George Simpson, the Canadian pioneers; Donald Smith and George Stephen, afterwards Lords Strathcona and Mount Stephen; and Sir John A. Macdonald, the first Prime Minister of Canada, whose place of origin, if not of birth, was near Dalmore Rock in the valley of the Fleet in Sutherland.

exploration. It is not proposed to follow the work of the various societies in countries with old-established religions of their own like India and China. This chapter is concerned with their efforts in the Empire outside India, and with the enormous task of converting from paganism the black masses of Africa and the Pacific. In Africa most of this work spread inland and north from the coast, and while the Moravians and the London Missionary Society were the earliest pioneers, other churches, sooner or later, lent their aid in evangelising the Bushmen, Hottentots, and the numerous Kaffir tribes. Almost insuperable difficulties were faced by these early pioneers of the Gospel, dangers from wild animals that infested the land, hardships from floods and from droughts, and not least perils from the savages whom they came to save. They were faced, too, at the beginning of their labours with opposition from the slave-owning colonists and from the apathy, and even at times the hostility of the Governments of the country. The dissensions between Boer and Briton, and the wars between the different native races placed appalling obstacles in their way, and the traveller from the Cape to the Great Lakes can scarcely realise to-day the marvellous changes that have been wrought in a century throughout a land previously steeped in the densest darkness of human knowledge and of spiritual life. For these changes a large share of the credit must be given to the civilising work of the missionaries. They made mistakes, of course, and sometimes their agents, like human agencies in every sphere, proved unworthy. At times their zeal outran their judgment. They expected too much in too short a time from the material they had to work on, and often they attempted too sudden a change from ancient customs or habits, while not infrequently they came into conflict with the civil power by over zealous championship of native aggression. In time, however, they learned to work with the civil authorities, and, as spokesmen for the

natives and their rights, they exercised much influence over the Administration in its dealings with various tribes. In their hands rested, and still mainly rests, the education of these races, and the provision of native teachers and pastors. When it is realised that even in the Union of South Africa there are four or five black persons for every white, and that outside the Union the proportion is greater, until in the tropics of Central Africa there are very few Europeans among the millions who have never heard the Gospel, one marvels at the success already achieved, and is encouraged in the hope that the co-ordinated and harmonious efforts of the many evangelising agencies at present at work will bring the civilising light of the Christian faith into these lands of spiritual darkness.

The problem of civilising the natives in the southern part of the Continent of Africa and of continuing to adjust their relations with the white population is one of the gravest and most complex kind. Unlike the United States of America, where the negroes are practically restricted to the southern states, South Africa has its black races spread all over the country, with only a few native reservations like Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland. The European and native peoples are accordingly in constant touch, and, as many of the tribes are of a virile and adaptable character, they readily assimilate the education provided, and are beginning to assert their claims to a voice in the destiny of the land. The greater, therefore, is the responsibility of missionary workers to see that their evangelisation proceeds in harmony with the enlightened aims of the statesmen. The future of Africa is full of greater problems and difficulties than its past.

It would be impossible to go into detail regarding individual missionaries or the work of different religious organisations. The lives of many of the former are veritable tales of romance, of men and women facing

unknown hardships and dangers and even death, far remote from civilisation and the solace of friends, toiling often near malarial swamps or in arid wastes, alone amongst savage beasts and often more savage men, impelled by no lust for gain or hope of human reward, but sustained and inspired by one aim—to bring the blessed message of peace and salvation into the hearts of benighted pagans in far-off lands. Mary Slessor, on the call of duty, left her work in a Dundee mill to spend her life among the negroes of West Africa, where her labours and her personal influence were attended with remarkable results. Long before then, the gently-nurtured Mary Moffat, wife of Robert Moffat, shared with her husband the zeal and the toils of the Christian pioneer. Here are some of her reflections on the state of the heathen Africans among whom her lot was cast: “It requires some little fortitude to live at rest in such a tumultuous land, amidst barbarians, but we trust that ‘He who hath delivered will deliver.’ . . . When I allow myself to conceive of the feelings of the natives of this wretched country in their most elevated state, I shudder. Methinks the condition of the very beasts is enviable in comparison of theirs. . . . Horror and devastation reign over the whole land, darkness covers it, and gross darkness the people. The longer we live in it the more convinced we are of the necessity of missionaries being here, being fully persuaded that it is only the gospel of peace which can raise the degenerate sons of Adam. How transcendently blessed will those missionaries be who live to see the thick gloom which covers them dispelled by the beams of the Sun of righteousness. I scarcely expect to witness it myself, but feel confident that the time will come, because the promises of Jehovah are yea and amen in Christ Jesus. It is not conferring with flesh and blood to live amongst these people. In the natives of South Africa there is nothing naturally engaging; their extreme selfishness, filthiness, obstinate stupidity,

and want of sensibility, have a tendency to disgust, and sometimes cause the mind to shrink from the idea of spending the whole life among them, far from every tender and endearing circle." This was a century ago—in 1824—north of the Orange River, and more than ten years before the Boers sallied forth on the lesser dangers of the Great Trek. If Mary Moffat had lived to see the results of their labours, with King Khama as a civilised and Christian ruler of his people, administering justice wisely and humanely among the Christianised descendants of these "barbarians," she would indeed have felt "transcendently blessed."

The work of Robert Moffat creates a landmark in the history of mission work in South Africa. The efforts of George Schmidt, the Moravian, and of Dr. John Vanderkemp, the first of the pioneers sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1798, were attended not only by the natural difficulties of ministering to pagan and embittered Bushmen and Hottentots, but also by deplorable hostility on the part of the colonists. Moffat, who was originally a gardener, was a man of great ability, shrewdness, and tact. His influence over Africaner, the notorious outlawed chief of the Hottentots, whom he converted from ferocious brigandage to a peaceful mode of life, and whom he persuaded to visit Cape Town with him, demonstrated to many doubtful minds the practical results of mission work. For fifty-four years, 1817-1870, he laboured, chiefly among the Bechuanas with Kuruman as his centre, teaching them, along with the message of Christ, the benefits of irrigation and the cultivation of the soil, as well as of forest preservation and other practical measures of civilised life. He learned the language of the Bechuanas, and translated the Scriptures into their tongue. His visits to Moselekatse, King of the Matabele and father of Lobengula, his difficulties with the Boers, the development of Kuruman as a centre of education and civilisation, and the eventual success of his evangelisation in the

face of much initial discouragement, are some phases of his work that may be mentioned in a remarkable career. Well might it be said of him that he combined the qualities of both the types of men honoured by Carlyle: "Two men I honour, and no third. First, the toilworn craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth and makes her man's. A second man I honour, and still more highly—him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable; not daily bread, but the bread of life. These two in all their degrees I honour. All else is chaff and dust."

In the middle of Moffat's career, in 1841, there appeared upon the scene a man destined to become one of the greatest missionaries and explorers of all time, David Livingstone. Great-grandson of a Livingstone who fell at Culloden, "fighting for the old line of kings," he was brought up like his future father-in-law, Robert Moffat, in a religious household of the type so beautifully described by Burns in his *Cottar's Saturday Night*. With dogged perseverance, after going to work in a cotton-spinning mill at the age of ten, and in face of financial obstacles, he fought his way through his university classes, and qualified as a medical practitioner. He was attracted to the London Missionary Society by the simplicity of its object—to preach to the heathen the Gospel of Christ rather than the encrusted dogmas of warring sects. His offer of service was almost rejected at first owing to his difficulty in expressing himself in his sermons, and to his lack of facility in praying—a defect that seems strange from his subsequent career and from his pathetic death at Ilala, where he was found dead on his knees with his head on his hands leaning on his bed in the attitude of prayer. After some time at Kuruman and other stations, he moved north to the vast unoccupied regions, where no missionary had ever been. He discovered Lake 'Ngami in his attempt to reach the Makololo, and filled with the idea that

exploration must precede missionary enterprise and that commerce must play its part in the civilisation of peoples, he pushed his way through savage tribes and malarial swamps, with no companionship but his native carriers until he reached the west coast at Loanda. Thence, after resting his fever-stricken limbs for a time, he returned again to the Zambesi, determined to cross the continent to the east coast. On this journey he discovered the Victoria Falls, and after great hardships and difficulties, many of them the results of the slave trade, he eventually reached Quilimane in May, 1856—having crossed Central Africa from sea to sea. The journey from Loanda in the west to the east coast occupied a year and eight months out of travels that lasted four years. After an absence of sixteen years he now returned to England on a visit, during which he published his *Missionary Travels*. He was received with enthusiasm by public bodies and learned societies, and honours poured in upon him. He used, however, every opportunity to enlist public interest and support for Africa and its claims; and his appeal to the students at Cambridge to carry on his work in Central Africa to which he was returning to open a door that he hoped would never be closed, was addressed to a wider audience, and led to the establishment of the Universities' and other missions.

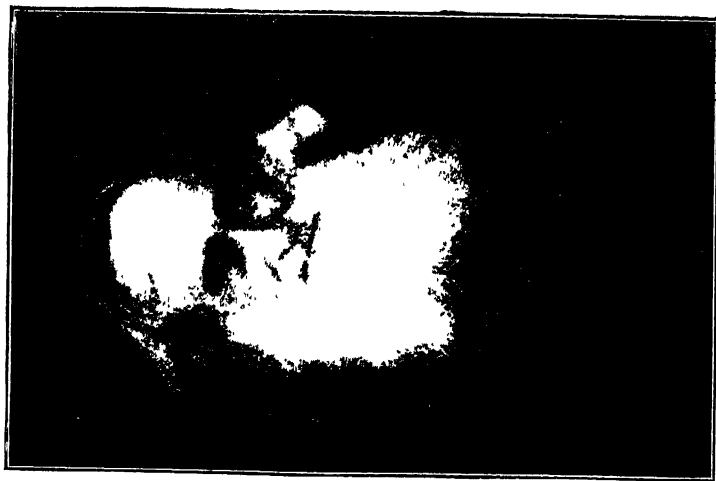
He returned to Africa as British Consul for the East Coast, and continued his work of exploration combined with missionary objects. He explored the Zambesi and Shiré Rivers, and discovered Lake Chilwa and Lake Nyasa. In his last journey, amid disappointments and difficulties, he explored the great lakes and endeavoured to find the sources of the Nile. He was lost in the wilds of Central Africa, and "discovered" by Stanley at Ujiji. He continued his work along Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweolo, but worn out by privations, fever, and dysentery, the intrepid pioneer died peacefully at Ilala on the 1st May, 1873. How

his faithful black servants, after burying his heart under a tree, crudely embalmed his emaciated body, and carried it disguised, with his journals and belongings, for a thousand miles through many hostile tribes and difficult country to the coast, whence it was conveyed for burial among the mighty dead in Westminster Abbey, is a pathetic and proud tribute to the affection and loyalty which Livingstone inspired in the hearts of his simple followers.

Livingstone combined in a remarkable degree the qualities of determination and endurance with simplicity and modesty of character. He stands pre-eminent as a single-minded missionary-explorer who opened up Central Africa to other workers in the same field as well as to traders and administrators. His exposure of the slave trade led practically to the extinction of that curse. Unique as were his personal achievements, the spirit that inspired his missionary enterprise was greater still.

The first Universities' mission to Nyasa met with disaster. "Good Bishop Mackenzie sleeps far down the Shiré River, and with him all hope of the Gospel being introduced in Central Africa," wrote Livingstone in a moment of despondency caused by ill-health and worry, but though Mackenzie and his companion died of fever shortly after the mission was established in 1861, other agencies entered the field, and the great work begun in 1875 at Livingstonia by Dr. Robert Laws and at Blantyre and other centres in Nyasaland by the Scottish churches and other bodies is a tribute to his memory and the inspiration of his ideals.

While these events were transpiring towards the Zambesi and the north, the political relations of the two white races, both between themselves and with the natives were subject to many vicissitudes. The opposition of the Boers to the emancipation of the slaves and to missionary activities among the natives, has often been criticised, but it was not more violent than similar opposition by British colonists in the



Robert Moffat.



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David Livingstone.

West Indies and other parts, as can be gathered from the acute controversy that raged over the Rev. John Smith, of the London Missionary Society, in Demerara in 1823.

The exposure by Dr. John Philip, one of the earliest agents of the London Missionary Society, of cruelties perpetrated on the natives and his advocacy of their rights, had beneficial results by the attention drawn to the question in his book, *Researches in South Africa*, though he was prosecuted and heavily fined for mis-statements in the work ; and the later complaints of Moffat, Livingstone, and Mackenzie to the hostility of marauding Boers helped to check an undoubted evil. Though an unsympathetic spirit towards the black races—largely general at the time—animated the Boers, it has to be remembered that the Dutch colonists were themselves insufficiently provided with spiritual facilities. Indeed it was found necessary early in the century, to import a considerable number of clergymen from Scotland, mainly from the north, which had close religious bonds with Holland in Covenanting days, and after spending a year or so in Holland, these clergymen took charge of Dutch congregations in various parts of the country. In more recent times the Dutch Reformed Church has played a prominent part in the evangelisation of the natives both at its door and in remoter parts in the north.

One other outstanding missionary with a strong personality was John Mackenzie, of the London Missionary Society. His successful work in Bechuanaland, and the beneficial changes he wrought in Khama's country, as well as his determination to keep open for Britain the way to the north, have been referred to in a previous chapter. His championship of native rights against the encroachment of the settler and the trader, whether Briton or Boer, brought him into conflict with Rhodes, but he was of great assistance to Warren in his expedition, and he played a more important part in thwarting schemes to cut the British off from the north than has been generally recognised.

Indeed the influence of missionaries in extending the bounds of the Empire has been considerable. As patriotic citizens and believers in the civilising mission of their country rather than as so-called Imperialists intent on territorial aggrandisement, they felt that they might count on the support of their own Government in the extension of their work, and for the protection of native races. It was through them that the Bechuana chiefs petitioned Great Britain to administer their territory when danger threatened from the rush to the goldfields and from the encroachment of the Boers. The Protectorates of Nyasaland, East Africa, and Uganda were proclaimed as the result of pressure from missionary societies who were alarmed for the future of the races among whom they laboured. And where missionaries were the pioneers it was generally found that no display of military force was required to establish a government. In their applications for intervention by the Government it was always in the interests of the natives and not for their own protection. John Mackenzie expressed the general principle and accepted practice of British missionaries and statesmen when he said that the missionary goes into heathen lands at his own risk and that he has no right to call upon the Home Government for help in danger or for punitive measures in case of maltreatment or murder.

In East and Central Africa mention must be made of Krapf and Rebman, two of the earliest missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, whose journey to the foot of the Great Mountains in the interior from Mombasa, created much interest in Europe ; and also of the devoted labours in Uganda of Alexander Mackay, who worked for fourteen years until his death without once coming home, of the brave Bishop James Hannington who was killed by order of the king as he was approaching Uganda, and of the scholarly Pilkington who also died a violent death. Many other zealous men worked in East and West Africa, penetrating into

remote parts under great difficulties and discouragement and patiently laying the foundations for others to build on. The disinterested assistance of laymen like Fowell Buxton, Macgregor Laird, and Sir George Taubman Goldie in West Africa and of the Moirs and Mackinnon in East Africa, is a happy contrast to the too frequent commercial exploitation of the natives by unscrupulous traders.

In Australia, Samuel Marsden, who was chaplain to the convicts in New South Wales, was an outstanding figure. He crossed over to New Zealand in 1814 to inaugurate a mission among the cannibal Maoris. Ten years passed without the conversion of a single native, but then there came a change. The Maoris dropped their cannibalism, and gradually became Christianised, mainly through the remarkable work of the brothers, Henry and William Williams.

Great devotion and self-sacrifice have been shown in missionary enterprise among the savage cannibals of the South Seas. The London Missionary Society in 1796 sent out its first pioneers to the number of thirty, who met with many difficulties and privations in Tonga and Tahiti, and other islands. Twenty years of varying fortunes and much suffering eventually showed some signs of progress in breaking down heathen opposition, when John Williams began his evangelising work among the islands. After twenty years of devoted service amongst the Polynesians with gratifying results, he was murdered and eaten by cannibals on the island of Erromanga in 1839. Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand founded the Melanesian Mission, and for ten years Bishop Patteson travelled incessantly among these islands, to be eventually murdered on the island of Nukapu at the age of 44. A cross erected to his memory bears the inscription, "In memory of John Coleridge Patteson, Missionary Bishop, whose life was here taken by men for whom he would gladly have given it." The missionary Gordon, from Nova Scotia, and his wife were also brutally

murdered in Erromanga, as narrated by Dr. John G. Paton in his *Autobiography*, which describes in vivid language the horrors of life amongst the brutal cannibals of the New Hebrides. In New Guinea the pioneer missionary, James Chalmers, whose twenty-five years of service will always connect his name with the island, was murdered with his followers by the Fly River cannibals in 1901, another martyr in the long list of lives sacrificed in the propagation of the Gospel in the South Seas.

In this brief sketch of missions and some leading missionaries, it must be understood that no attempt has been made to give more than an outline of the vast field that has been opened up. Many societies and noted evangelists have not been mentioned by name, nor, of course, the great multitude of more humble workers whose earnest and unobtrusive service in the vast field has contributed in no small measure to the goodly harvest that has already been reaped.

There are questions like the relations between the missions and the Ethiopian and native churches, and the demand by the former to have a fair field and access for evangelising work in Moslem areas like the Sudan and Nigeria that will require careful handling. There is also the large problem of how to secure greater co-operation and more effective use of missionary energy between the various churches in order to reach the enormous masses that await the civilising message of the Gospel. The acceptance of the principle that backward races should be governed for their benefit and not for commercial exploitation is a great step forward in the march of civilisation, and the progress of such schemes as "Papuan Industries Ltd.," which has been so admirably described by Mr. Harold Begbie in his pamphlet on *Christianity and Commerce*, will be watched with sympathetic interest by well-wishers of these efforts to uplift the heathen. The understanding as to their respective spheres of activity as well as the harmonious relations

which now exist between missionaries and the civil authorities, and the recognition by the latter of the help rendered to peaceful administration by the moral influence and teaching of these unselfish workers should enable even more rapid progress to be made in the noble task of evangelisation which has already achieved such remarkable and beneficent results.



Arms of Fiji.

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